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Non Co-operation and

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

1920 – 25

Shelf 2.13

(2 – 242)

SUBJECT

பாதுகாப்பு பிரிவு-1

செப்பனிடுபவர் பெயர் ரா. கயல்நாயகி

செப்பனிடுவதற்காக எடுத்துக் கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள் 2/07

செப்பனிட்டு முடித்த நாள் 4/07

சரிபார்க்கும் முதல் மு. நி. பா. எ. கையொப்பம்

சரிபார்க்கும் 2ம். நி. பா. எ. கையொப்பம்.

ஆராய்ச்சி உதவியாளர் கையொப்பம்

2/

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the G.O.

(The Advance Guard - English Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.30 (Ordinary) dated 18-1-1923: Public Departm

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Madras Government declared forfeited issue No.4, of Volume I of the English Newspaper entitled "The Advance Guard" and issue No.97 of Volume 2 of the Journal "Internation Press Correspondence."

3

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO. N.C.S & Khilafat Movement - 1920 - Associated Activities

in the Madras Presidency.

Abstract of the GO.

("The Advance Guard" - English Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.37 (Ordinary) dated 20-1-1923: Public Department.

Government of Madras declared ~~forfeiture~~ forfeited the issue No.5 of Volume I of the English Newspaper entitled "The Advance Guard."

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S.2 Khilafat Movement 1920-

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the G.O.

("The Advance Guard" - English Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE: G.D.No.43 (Ordinary) dated 23rd January 1923 - Public Department.

Government of Madras declared forfeited the issue No.7 of Volume I of the English Newspaper entitled "The Advance Guard".

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5

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code, - Section 99 A - Proscribed.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.901(Ordinary)dated 27-1-1923, Public (Mis)Dept.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George, November 27, 1923.

No.437:- In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies whereever found of the issues of the following publications:-

(1) Internation Press Correspondence (Printed at Berlin) Vol. 3, No 62 (40) dated the 27th September 1923;

(2) The Workers' Weekly, Official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain No. 34, dated the 28th September 1923, printed by the London Caledonian Press,. Ltd; 74, Swinton Street W.C., and published by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at 16 King Street Covent Garden London W.C.2:

(3) Workers' Dreadnought, Vol.X No.28, dated the 29th September 1923 Published by E.Sylvia Pankhurst, at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, and printed by the Agenda Press, Ltd. (T.U) at 10, Wine Office Court London, E.C.4;

(4) The Vanguard, Central Organ Communist Party of India (Sec. Communist Internationa), Vol. III No. 4, dated the 1st Octobe 1923, printed by the Emerald Press, Dublin, Ireland;

and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said issues of the said publications in asmuch as they contain seditious matter, the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

M.E.COUCHMAN,
Acting Chief Secretary.

Extracts from GOs relating to NCO and Khilafat movement in the Madras Presidency (Prescribed literature) (1921 (1920-1923)

M.G.K. G.O. No. 88, Ordinary, Public dated 27-1-23.

The Bengal Government published books under the following heads. (1) The Ottawa Agreement; (2) Indian Currency Policy (3) Indian Fiscal Policy (4) Famine in India (5) Defence Problems of India etc., etc. Copies of them were sent to Madras Government by the Central Government with a request to give publicity to them. After a long exchange of opinions the Government of Madras decided to publish a booklet entitled 'Famine in the Madras Presidency'. The following are the few lines of the Government of Madras on the matter. "Publicity work does not always produce the intended result. It should be undertaken only very occassionally and not as a regular course of business (as Bengal appears to be doing) If pamphlets are to be published by this Government they must either be preparedby them or atleast edited or readapted under their auspices so as to suit the conditions and the popular feelings of this Presidency! !

The Government of Madras finally prepared a phamplet entitled "Famine in the Madras Presidency" In that that have stated that Fa ine is not new to the Presidency! Even before the arrival of the English in India people were affected by famine on many occassions. Famine was prevalent during 17th and 18th centuries in Madras. The chief reason for it was said to have been the neglect of the irrigation works. Hence

rice even in a favourable year was extraordinarily scarce and dear. In 1781;82 the Carnatic war devasted by the armies of Hyder Ali, Madras town found itself in great straits for want of food. In 1790-92 the Northern Circars were visited by a famine. In 1833 occurred what is known as the Guntur famine. In 1853 Bellary. There was another famine in 1866 in the Northern Circars. In 1880 a famine commission was appointed to go into the matter. This Commission made it clear that the best way to avoid the effects of a year of poor rainfall was to build and keep in repair large irrigation works. They concluded saying that the British administration is the only one that has made a sustained and successful effort to protect the people in its charge from the horrors of famine!

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-17

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S. & Khilafat Movement 1920-

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Proscribed Literature - 20

Abstract of the G.O.

("Indian Independence" - Proscription - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.53 (Ordinary) dated 29th January 1923:
Public Department.

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Government of Madras declared proscribed under section 19 of the Sea-customs Act 1878, the book entitled "Indian Independen published at Berlin.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N-C-S & Khilafat Movement 1920-2[illegible]

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature-23

Abstract of the GO.

("The Communist" - English newspaper published in Britain - Proscribed.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.82 (Ordinary) dated, 6-2-1923 ,Public Departmen

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The Government of Madras proscribed the issue No.126 of the 30th December 1922 of the paper entitled "The Communist" the organ of Communist International published from Britain .

Selections from G.O.s relating to Non-cooperation movement Proscribed literature: Telugu books (1923) (1920-192

EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

" SWARAJYA PRAPTI SADHANAMU"

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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Swarajya Prapti Sadhanamu" by P. Narayana Sastri. (The means to attain swaraj).

G.O. No. 80, Dated 6th February, 1923, Public Department:

'It strongly advocates the Non-cooperation Movement incites the feelings of intense hatred towards and contempt for the British Government and British institutions in India. The contents are therefore highly objectionable.

"Swarjya Prapti Sahdanamu (The means for the attainment of Swaraj)

Page 1.

Stanza 1: Serve mother India, who is graceful as the abode of prosperity, the garden-bed of the creepers of learning, and the snake for the frogs of the enemies (the British); and who is charming with mercy.

Page 2.

Stanza 4: O, Mother India! It will not be proper for you to be quiet, saying, "My womb has borne fruit; what more to me?" Alas! Subservient to the aliens (The British), giving up great generosity, and without treading along the path of the good your sons have been swimming in the (oceanof)(domestic life of the servile profession. Remonstrate with them in passionate words.

Stanza 5: A barren woman is better than one, who gave birth to mischievous sons. Somehow, you gave birth to men, who like the creed of the aliens (the British) to mean men and atheists. If (they) are shoved out, (they) will be ruined. Make them heroes by proper counsel (lit. morals). O, land of India, the fortune of the position of self-Government will accrue (to you) at this juncture.

Stanza 7: May mother India push us further from those (the British), who are far from kindness, and protect us with a gracious look!

12 23

Page 3:

Stanza 10: Who is the thunderbolt (the weapon of god Indra) to break into pieces the great moutains of the boldness of heart of the westerners (theBritish) Who is the sun to the gleaming lotus-like face of the closed lotus-like sportive damsel of India? Who is the treasure of intellect, which is relieving the Indians, whose souls have become subject to the evil guesses of the <u>Hun</u> (the British) warriors? Who makes easy, and shows the series of actions respected by the world, which are hasardous for others? Who has acted pertinaciously, to make the Indians enjoy the supreme happiness of indpendence? Is it possible to describe Mahatma Gandhi, who possesses such qualities who is very peace ful, and who has unlimited self-control.

Page 4.

Stanza 12: The goddess of the wealth of our kingdom has fallen into the hands of the alien (the Britisher), has grown lean and become sapless, day by day through his conduct which is pretentious.

Stanza 13: Is it clever, to maintain (men(s) own families by serving the aliens (The British), who are mean? Is it happy, to spend time by being bound by the words of strangers (the British) What has bec ome of shame? Will the men, born in the excellent land of India,push aside independence into the fire like this O, people of India! Arise ! Arise!

Stanza 14: These appointments will, like the splendour of lightning, give the brightness of trifling happiness; but alas! Will they afford long-standing comforts? Toil, to obtain the appointments of one's own kingdom without thinking, that comforts and difficulties will befall in such matters as life money honour and dishonour.

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Stanza 15: It will not be well to say, 'Will such a great deed be possible, if one man aids (it)?' It will not be proper to entertain a doubt saying, 'What will happen, if I quit (it)? Do not abandon (it) saying, 'Will we obtain the kingdom, if the spinning wheel is turned?' You must not stop resigning the appointments anxiously thinking, 'How shall we live any longer if the appointments are gone?' O, Indians! For the attainment of your own lustrous

Page 5.

your own lustrous government, you should endure with a steadfast mind, if wealth is lost, if hardship overtakes you, and even if large shears falls on your throat.

Stanza 16: Let wealth go, if it goes. Have (lit. undertake) celebrated steadfastness. Let hundreds of agonies come, as a result of the connection with the wretches (the British). In accordance with the word of Gandhi, and with firm perseverance, push through the act which is undertaken. O, Indians! The famous and immeasurable happiness of self-Government will now be obtained by it.

Stanza 17: There is no doubt. Death will certainly happen at least. 'In the way of the stout intellect', it is said, that they are the people, who have imposed the burial ground tax (or the tax on a funeral pile). How stable will the British Government be, which thinks of living with the money found (got) on a corpse? What comfort will accrue hereafter to the Huns (The British).

Stanza 18: The excessive, the irresistible, and the endless sin, born of the Punjab murders, has, at the instigation of the righteous king Gandhi, envelopped the whole multitude of the English, publicly, firmly and fruitfully. Abandoned, without joining anyone and without doing service, how will the goddess of the prosperity of the kingdom be? Will it go in vain?

Stanza 19: Do you say, 'why should the people stop rendering this help to the westerners, who do good, without performing even one act to the contrary! Will they, who have heard about these murders speak like this? What is there strange in it? Will a life agreeable to a wicked mine, allow the knowledge of good and evil?

Page 6.

Stanza 20: The two fierce Muhammadan lions (Mohamad Ali and Shaukat Ali) are waiting for an opportunity. The game of the Huns (the British) will no longer go on. At some time, it will be reduced to powder. Their command is to give swaraj to the Andhras, saying , 'Take it".

Stanza 22: O, men(Sons of Mother India! As saidby Gandhi, give up the lieves of servitude. Live in the expectation (lit. thought) of attaining swaraj, with persistence. Suffer any peril. Only those who have suffered torments will now be happy.

Stanza 23: The roar of victory of the words of that Lokamanya in the sacred continent of India, appeared as inauspicious to the anemies (the British), and as the dawn of entire good fortune for us.

Stanza 24: Like Pandu (the father of the Pandavas) who departed, showing the ~~the~~ destroyer of the demons (the British) as the consolder of his offspring and the giver of comfort to them; the Lokamanya (Tilak), who knew the truth of Gita (the Lords(song) departed, pointing out Mahatma Gandhi to us, and saying, You will do well to serve him, and obtain the comforts of swaraj". That way should be respected.

Stanza 26: Just as a basket of stones does not become equal to a gem, all the towns situated on the earth are not fit to be 'coupled' with Chirala. How singular! With a desire for swaraj, the multitude of the people living therein proceed to jail as they go to a marriage.

15/ 27

Stanza 27: May religious animosity, the torture of living beings, the honouring of the vile wrëtches (the British) and the destrüction of learning, be uprooted!

Page 8.

Stanza 2: O, Indian heroes of brave minds! Establish educational institutions, so that they may spread, without the language of the Huns (the English). Spur on (the people), so that they may do the good acts, performed by your ancestors. Acquire the position ofthe rulers of the earth, governed by the kings. old. Spread (lit. sow) broadcast on the surface of the earth the moonlight of fame, so that Indians may rejoice. While Gandhi, Bepin Chandrapal, and the great man Konda Venkatappayaa shine forth, will not the goddess of swaraj come (to you)?

Stanza 3: Alas! Alas! Our Brahminism has become spoiled; henceforth, give up the education of the Huns (the English). Alas! Alas! our Government of the earth has gone; think of abandoning the servile profession. Alas! Alas! Our condition (lit. work) 'has touched the bottom'; swadesi trades must be done. Alas! Alas! ~~Is it proper~~ Injury to (our) honour has taken place. Eastablish only the education of the plough. Alas! Alas! Is it proper to keep quiet like this, while the Andhra mother, who begot us has wet her eyes? O, Indian heroes of brave minds! Are we not men? Should we not assume bravery?

Stanza:4: You should get our of the way of the villanous thought, that you should go up only for the L.T. Examination. You should establish boy scout associations in every town.

Sd.B.Somasundara Rao, 20-1-23.
Acting Telugu Translator to Government.

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EXTRACTS FROM GOS RELATING TO N.C. Sl. Khilafat Movement... IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature

Abstract of the G.O.

(The Advanced Guard - Forfeiture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.92:(Ordinary) dated 10-2-1923:Public Department.

Government of Madras Declared forfeited the issue No.8 of Volume I of "The Advanced Guard", published in London.

17

EXTRACTS FROM GOS RELATING TO N.C.C. & Khilafat Movements

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY Proscribed Literature

Abstract of the GO.

("Hind" - English newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.118 (Ordinary) dated 19-2-1923:Public (Mis) Department.

Government of Madras Proscribed issues Nos.7 and 8 of volume 2 of the English Newspaper entitled "Hind" dated 12th and 13th December 1922 published in London.

18

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S. & Khilafat Movement 1920

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

("Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind" - Proclamation - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.129 (Ordinary) - dated 21-2-1923:Public (Mis) Department.

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Madras Government declared forfeited all copies of the Proclamation issued by the Jamait-il-Ulema-i-Hind in 1923.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S & Khilafat Movement 1920

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

("The Advance Guard" - Forfieture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.127 (Ordinary) dated 21-2-1923: Public Departmen

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Government of Madras declared forfeited the issue No.9 of Volume I of "The Advanced Guard" published in London.

Selections from CID relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920-19..)
Proscribed literature: Telugu books (1923)

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"Atma Siksha" or Self Discipline.

39

Summary from a copy of a Telugu book entitled "Atma Siksha" by Vaddadi Sitaramanjaneyulu and Pudipeddi Kasi Viswanatha Sastri.

20

G.O. No. 137, Dated 22nd February 1923: Public:

A good many passages of the book are of such highly seditious nature as would assuredly bring the Government into utter hatred and contempt among the Telugu-speaking people? Some of the passages of the work can hardly have any other purpose than the stirring up of disaffection.

'The yarn of the disc in the hand of god Vishnu will hunt the enemies (the British). If you conquer the foes within you, and flourish, will not all the external foes (the British) be speedily destroyed in a twinkle. It is a religious duty to refuse (lit. disregard) co-operation with men of wicked conduct (the British). Those (the British) who hypocritically destroy (any) act are certainly vile wretches. While the fire at the final destruction of the world encircles will not all the vile wretches, (the British) die, and be turned into ashes. 'Burst asunder' skilfully, the fraud devised by the aliens (the British). When it is said, that one should not care for the laws made by men, wherefore should one speak of the demoniacal laws? Why should you so much care for the laws of the aliens (the British), which are made to rob you of your prosperity? Can that (law) be valid as law, which has been made without your collaboration? Shove out the aliens (the British) by your capacity. It is false, that justice can be had from the aliens (the British). Why do you believe in fradulent justice? The Government (the British Government) which does not take care of its subjects does not show toleration, and is hasty, without any the least intermission is a living corpse. If he (the Emperor of India) does not care for you, it is the same to you, whether he remains or drops out. If you have a desire for liberation, the fiend of the authority- of the enemies (the British), who break to pieces your progress, and do treachery, should be rooted out by force. The sparkling of great humility will consign

the empires of the vile wretches (the British) to fire. There is the authority to wage war. It is the prescribed duty to break the enemy (the British) to pieces without hesitation. It is the prescribed (duty) to kill sinners and the traitors to the world (the British). Get yourself ready to wage war. Arise forthwith, with increased bravery, for war, to speedily cut the enemy (the British) to pieces. Wage the war of righteousness bravely. If you do not wage this war of righteousness, eminently, fame will be uprooted, and sin will arise. Taking the sword of wisdom, will you not undertake to cut to pieces, with intellectual skill, the crowd of the enemies (the British), who are the cuase of ignorance. In order to shove out the Government of the aliens, (the British), self-Government should be set up as a substitute for it. The Government of the enemy (the British), which cannot see with the eye, on account of its lustful arrogance (lit. rut), and presses you down, will end in a twinkle. Is not the insect, which appreaches a radiant light, mistaking it for a delicious fruit, 'trodden to pieces."

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Atma Siksha (Self Discipline).

Page 1.

The yarn of the disc in the hand of Vishnu, which turns (lit. swings) will pierce (lit. rush into) the violation of modesty, will hunt the enemies and, if worshipped, will soon give good fortune, Then will come the kingdom of liberation.

Page 2.

Is it not the meanest of very mean acts, to become slaves to others. To excellent men, death is supremely better than that.

To give up morality, and live by the support afforded by the hand of others is the lowest profession. It is not proper. Is it right to go in for positions, which pain one's people; for titles, which soil one; and for

and for malicious venerableness; selling to the alians (the British) the birthright of great freedom?

Page 3.

To destroy (one's) eternal positions, for the hypocritical honours of the aliens (the British) on the earth,is, indeed, to abandon valuable gems for (obtaining) the jujuba fruit. The vow of non-co-operation devotedly undertakes to be at a distance from the wicked (the British). O, mind! Endure trouble and loss, and taking the path of the disciplined, attain liberation.

Page4:

Why should (you) burn in the blaze of the flames of the fire of blame? If you conquer the foes within you and flourish, will not all the external foes (the British) be speedily destroyed, in a twinkle?

Page 5.

It is not proper, to forget one's country, one's language, one's duty and the significane of one's traditions. It is not proper, to adopt the duty of strangers. If adopted, it will cause evil.

Page 9.

All men are brothers. All have an equal right. What righteousness is it, that, on the earth, some alone obtain comfort from the labour of many poor people.

Will the cruel people, who live by the life of several brothers, who suffer from abject poverty, 'come forward? the world calls them cuckoos (so called, as being reared in another bird's nest.)

Page 10.

O, mind! Unable to know your power, wicked tribes (people) call you a monkey. If you are dexterously conducted, will you not be a mine of celebrated wonders?

Page 13.

Whenasked about one thing, people give an answer relating to another, without the one having agreement with the other. This is the method of the hypocrites,

who stop without doing work.

Without the desire for teturn, one should always give advice to others. It is morality indeed. O mind! It is a religious duty, to refuse (lit. disregard) co-operation with men of wicked conduct (the British).

Cruel men seek to deceive you, and shatter your undertaking. Do not people catch the end of the note of thecuckoo, and say it again, from a desire to hear the raised cry of that bird?

Page 14.

Theft and adultery cannot be hidden. They are demons to swallow fame. They cause peril to life The great and excellent scholars seek to drive them away.

Page 15.

Unable to know the greatness of the great-souled, men evil minds (the British) oppose and do insulting acts to (them). It is indeed natural for the messengers of the god of death to cause torment.

Those (the British) who hypocritically destroy (any) act are certainly vile-wretches.

Page 16.

Is it possible for a stranger, to protect one's sense of honour? One is indeed able to do it oneself. There is no other thing on earth, which is equal to the very great self-help.

Page 17.

If, by force, evils are thought of for great men, only harm will befall. While the fire at the final destriction of the world encircles, will not all the vile-wretches (the British) die, and be turned into ashes?

Page 18

It is possible to cheat one always. It is possible once to defraud all. Is it possible to cheat all men always?

Persevering to attain their desire quickly, selfish men spread differences, and always spoil you. 'Burst asunder'

skilfully, the fraud devised by the aliens (the British).

Page 19.

Is there a way in a kingdoms of the demons (the British) for truth, influence (lit. power of word), great heroism and much solid greatness? Do you not know the story of Ravana of a former time?

When it is said, that one should not care for the laws made by men, wherefore should one speak of the demoniacal laws? The law of God alone is the eternal authority for youx. Why should you so much eare for the laws of the aliens (the British), which are made with a desire to attain progress, by robbing (you) of your prosperity, without being mindful of your increase? Can that (law) be valid as law, which has been made without your collaboration? Who can punish you? Shove out the aliens (the British) by your capacity!

As it isnatural for the aliens (the British) always to seek for their own increase, it is false, that complete justice can be had (lit. found) from them. Give up the mad delusion.

Page 20.

Can justice be found even if one should buy it? Can it be justice, when it is bought? When the great Panchayat shines forth within you, why do you believe in fraudulent justice?

The 'evil habits' which 'kill' one's own real brightness should be killed, though it may quickly cuase excessive loss of wealth to any one.

(In this stanza, the expression Duralavatlu is within inverted commas. There appears to be a pun here, for that expression may also probably mean the 'acts of the British'.).

Page 21.

Liberation will certainly appear before the eyes, if the education, which conduces to the development of the nation, and which is true, is always had. If it is alien (the British) O, mind! You will die.

That preceptor is indeed the preceptor, who implants in the mind of the disciple of the germs of the nations' own dhrma. But any one else is a master traitor, and his face should not be seen.

Is there a Government anywhere, which does not not take care of (lit. see) its subjects, does not show toleration (lit. accord gentleness) and is hasty without any the least intermission? When perceived, it is indeed a living corpse.

To you, the ruler is one, who has been duly elected with your consent. If he (the Emperor of India) does not care for you, it is the same to you, whether he remains or drops out.

Page 22.

If you have a desire for liberation, the fiend of the authority of the enemies (the British) who break to pieces your progress, and do treachery should be rooted out by force (lit. strength).

The arrow of a bowman kills a man, or will miss him. but the sparkling of great humulity will consign the expires of the vile wretches (the British) to fire.

There is the authority, to wage war. As soon as you had your birth on the earth, war has happened to you. It is the prescribed duty, to break the enemy (the British) to pieces, without hesitation.

Though the abandonment of anger, and the attainment of non-violence are the two ways of righteousness; know this, O, mind! That it is the prescribed (duty) to kill the sinners and the traitors to the world (the British).

Impotency is not 'proper' on the earth. Sordid weakness is indeed improper. Do away with it; and get yourself ready to wage war. Arise quickly.

Page 23.

If you die, Heaven will come to you. If you increase and gain victory, liberty will be obtained by you. Arise forthwith, with increased bravery for war, to speedily cut the enemies (the British) to pieces.

It is certain, that every living being, that has its birth will die. Bullying, death follows (everyliving) being like the downcast shadow. Without being puffed up with pride, tread along the path of liberation.

Page 24.

Do not grieve, that the body will be destroyed. The body will go any way. What is eternal in the universe is the soul. Wage the war of righteousness bravely.

Deadly engines cannot split the soul; the blaze of fire cannot burn it. the waters cannot wet it, the wind cannot make it stagger; the soul is ever-lasting.

If you do not wage this war of righteousness, 'eminently' fame will be uprooted; the great Swadharma (one's own duty) will be spoiled; and sin will arise without fail.

Taking the sword of wisdom, will you not undertake to cut to pieces, with intellectual skill, the crowd of the enemies (the British), who are the cuase of ignorance. Arise for war.

If it is not convenient to combat, in a manner which is free from restraint, what is to be donex is, to fight skilfully the fradulent battle of Ghatothkacha (a demon).

Page 25.

In order to shove out the Government of the aliens (the British), self-Government should be set up as a substitute for it. How can the Government be gigorously fixed without a cluster of excellent strongholds.

The Government of the enemy (the British), which cannot see with the eye on account of its lustful arrogance (lit. rut) and presses you down, will end in a twinkle. Is not the insect, which approaches a radiant light, mistaking it for a delicious fruit, burnt to death? ~~trodden to pieces~~?

Is it your misfortune (lit. fate) to be a partner in ank alien (the British) empire? Obtain the lovely prosperity of the goddess of the Empire of liberation, which is stable; and shine forth (or rejoice).

Sd.B.Somasundara Rao, 12.1.23.
Acting Telugu Translator to Govt.

TRUE COPY

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature '23

Abstract of the G.O.

("An appeal to labour Unions" - By M.N.Roy - Leaflet - Forfeiture of copies - Ordered)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.248 (Ordinary) dated 26-2-1923: Public Departmen

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The Government of Madras declared forfeited all copies of a leaflet in English by M.N.Roy headed "An Appeal to the Labour Unions of India".

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C-S & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature '2

Abstract of the G.O.

("Hind" - English Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.150, (Ordinary) dated 27-2-1923, Public (Pol.) Departmen

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The Government of Madras declared forfeited the issue No.6 of Volume 2 of "Hind" published from London by ~~thx~~ G.S.Dara.

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29 .57.2

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature '23

Abstract of the G.O.

("India in Transition" - Book - Forfeiture - Ordered)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.156 (Ordinary) dated 27-2-1923,Public Department

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Government of Madras declared forfeited the book entitled "India in Transition" by M.N.Roy published at Geneva.

Selections from CIDS relating to the non-cooperation movement (…)
Proscribed literature: Telugu books (1923)

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IX. EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"SWARAJYA MAHA SABHA" or the "AHMADABAD CONGRESS", written by Damaraju Pundarikakshudu of Guntur. G.O.No.153, dt.27th February, 1923.

The book opens with a metrical exhortation of the another to the people, to be alive to the serious political situation in India.

When, day by day, hundreds and thousands of volunteers are 'arriving' in the dungeon, when the gems of women have abandoned their homes for the service of the country and are starting for jail; when all the students have cheerfully joined the peace-army and are going to prison; when the Bengalis and the Sikhs, who are valourous and heroic by birth, have adopted peace; and when Das, Lajpat, and Nehru themselves, who are the most estimable among the principal leaders, have gone to prison; will you, O, Indians! Live and merely look on ? Will you not guard (your) honour?

While the pandavas of those days have become the non-co-operators of these days, and are suffering hardships; while the Panchali (the wife of the Pandavas) of those days has become the Punjab of these days, and has met with disgrace; while the wicked Dussasana and Duryodhana have become the Dyer and the O'Dwyer of to-day, and have taken to quarrelling; while Andrews shines forth as Vidura, Malavya as Bhishma and Reading as Karna to-day; and while Gandhi, as God Krishna, does the work of a charioteer, India has undertaken to conduct a war of peace, and has been carrying on negotation for the last time. Another Bharata War on the earth will be averted. Should not the country awake at least now?

It then devotes two pages of verses in praise of the imprisoned leaders Das Lajpat Rai, Nehru and the Ali Brothers.

O Chitta Ranjan Das! Having sown broad-cast (the seeds of) your celebrity in Bengal, you have pounced upon (lit. leapt over) wicked kingdom. Having become a fierce thunderbolt, you have, forthwith implanted your mighty power throughout the country. You have flourished with surpassing strength, within one year; while it was said, that there was none better than you.

Just when we were joyfully counting the days in the hope, that if, as a result of such a great fortune (lit. when such a great vow was undertaken), Swaraj comes to pass, there is such a man as you

for us heroic Lajpat Rai! And that we will make you an Emperor, you suffered a mighty calamity. Do not care a farthing for it. Will all the Indians remain quiet? O! Nehru, the gem of intellect! You are the very embodiment of renunciation. You, who were most charmingly happy in the enjoyment of princely luxuries, and did not edure the base bonds of servitude, have abandoned (lit. mixed with water) your long standing conforts. Did you go to the dungeon, wishing for Swaraj? Think of the heroic Ali brothers, our two tiger-cubs, who, ever since they took human birth in the blessed womb of their mother, suffered troubles and burning (with a desire) to see the fortune of Swaraj, abhored happiness, bore distresses and, hazarding life, went to jail.

Alas! Instead of being born in some good country, as some Nabobs, or as some Sultans, or as some eminent kings, and though lowly born in the land of India as slaves of these worthless (lit. ascetic) days, the Ali brothers could not contain their passion and fury; thus these tigers went to jail.

Warning.

When the two Alis (~~the two Alis~~ (the Ali brothers) are clapped in jail, thousands of such Ali couples will be born; when even Mahatma Gandhi is kept in prison, the people of the whole world will be turned into Gandhis, and it will go on; when it is intended to smite to death the desire for freedom itself, rivers of independence will flow; when hands and mouths are bound down, and are forbidden (to act), even the small and great stones of our country will speak (lit. open their mouths). Why all this demonstration, and why this struggle for these vile acts? It will happen to you, without fail, at any time. Give us our Swaraj. It would be for the welfare of the world, that we should attain equality.

Ask for wealth, and we shall throw (it) away, saying, 'we will give so many crores a year', beg for any help necessary for you, and we will not hesitate to give it to you; say that you want to eat your fill along with us, and there will be no deficiency; remain in our country and continue your trade, according to your ability.

We do not mind any number of such things as these. But, when you assume authority over us and consider us as slaves, we cannot bear (it). Ours is the Indian race.

What does it profit, to stop hostilities with these men and those, and come to a compromise? What good is it, to hold any number of Washington Conferences, saying, 'we will establish peace throughout the world'. What use is it, to indulge in any amount of most blustering language saying, 'We are for the protection of small States'? What is the fruit of the imposition of restrictions, in order to stop the predominance of weapons? If, indeed, you hide the fact of causing heart-burning to, and treading to pieces, the people of India, which is Heaven on the earth, how long can it be concealed? ~~If you, really, mean on the earth, how long can it be concealed?~~ If you, really, mean to establish peace, the only evidence of it will be to give us our kingdom, and live.

Did not god Krishna's negotiation for peace prove in vain, and a horrible war, the (Maha) Bharata war, take place on this earth? If the Government should not listen to the words of Malavya and cause this Indian agitation to stop, another Bharata War (the War of India) will be averted. Peace will be secured everywhere.

If there is a force in India, which excels devotion to religion, that greater force is the chaste and virtuous wife.. Believe with the purity of thought, word, and deed, that those who commit naughty deeds on our gems of women perish in a moment, though they be strong men, or are their grandfathers.

Part II.

As the Government had carried on a frightful policy of repression in places like Calcutta and the Punjab, a few days before the Congress held its (36th) Session, and had bound down celebrated leaders like Lala Lajapat Rai and Motilal Nehru, enthusiasm and a desire to take a vow to attend the meeting of the Congress prevailed among the people. The news that, in the meantime, Government laid violent hands on Mr. Chittaranjan, who had been elected with great joy by all the people, and who was the very first 'president' of the Indian Parlia-

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ment, and dishonoured his excellent wife and sister, greatly spread like wild fire from the Himalayas to Cape Commorin, and 'inflamed the fire of passion' among the Indians, and developed the firm faith in the people, that 'whatever harsh measures the Government might resort to, to prevent the holding of the Congress session, they would, without fail, conduct the meeting, by pouring out even their lives'. The people were ready to stand in the Congress pandal and proclaim Swaraj, so long as life remained in them, though the Government might rain fire to prevent the meeting from taking place. The people were all transported with enthusiasm.

There is a rumour at Ahmadabad that, to know the secret of the structure of the two swinging towers, the great Engineers of the present day removed (lit. pulled out) one of the two towers to some extent, and that as the method of its construction was abstruse to them, they left it off, after removing it some way. As a result of it, perhaps, one of the towers appeared to have been broken. X X X When places like the beautiful Jain temple at Ahmedabad are seen, there will be none, who will not applaud the former emminence of India, and who will not shed tears, at the sight of the vestiges (lit. marks) of the mighty Muhammadan Empire.

Some people who saw the Congress pandal asked, if the whole of England could not be contained within it, and began to laugh. As if western civilisation had vanished (lit. touched the bottom) neither chairs nor tables, which are its signs, could be seen even for semblance anywhere in that pandal.

The speech of Mr V.J. Patel, the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Not having obtained as yet the great fortune of celebrating the grand festival of the establishment of Swaraj, we are drowned in, and float on, troubles, and are subjected to hard punishments.

As the Government forcibly took possession of the national schools from the control (lit. authority) of the Surat and the Nadiad Municipalities, we have had an opportunity to show our passive resistence. A state of things like this, has happened in Ahmedabad also. Civil Disobedience will have to be availed of at last. Bardoli and

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Ananda Taluks are being prepared for civil disobedience.

The speech of Mr Ajmal Khan, the President.

When the people's ordinary rights of citizenship have suffered violation, they are going on a pilgrimage to jail, without intermission.

We have no kind of hatred towards the Prince (of Wales), but we cannot consent to our bankrupt Government reestablishing their lost reputation through him. Besides, this is not a time of gad gladness for us, to accord welcome to him. The country is still in grief, on account of the Punjab and the Khilafat injustices. People are still grieving for swaraj. Under such circumstances, we cannot rejoice in any way for the Prince. The Government themselves are the authors of the strange actions, which took place on the occasion of his arrival, and not we at all. We should understand, to what a very low state, the reputation of schools, pleaders and Legislative Councils has been reduced. The fate of the title-holders too has been the same. As for the resignations of Government officials, they are increasing in number gradually.

The actions of the Government in regard to the Moplahs, and the villanies of the latter against the Hindus, are also regrettable. The Government themselves are responsible for inciting the Moplah riots. No human being can edm endure the repressive policy adopted by them there. All of us, who suffered formerly at Amritsar, know the wicked deeds and the horrible acts of the Government. The recent awful deaths in the train here have come out, by force of destiny. (No one knows), how many more strange acts like these have taken place.

Our country is suffering amazing torments. But that torment is like the pains of parturition of Mother India, at the time of the birth of independence.

The words of awakening of Chittaranjan Das.

What is left for us, in our existence, to make the Government submit (to us), is the war of peace, which is the non-co-operation movement. Non-co-operation means the refusal (lit.disregard) to

yield to the conditions opposed to justice and righteousness. Under this, we must refuse (lit, disregard) to mingle with the unrighteous, and work (with them) even to satisfy our necessity.

Is it for nothing, that the Ali brothers have poured out their most wonderful lives, exhibited their marvellous renunciation and suffered hardships? Will it be ineffectual, that the hero Lajpat Rai, the most estimable of the very brave who have no fear of death, flung the order of the bureaucratic Government(lit. the Government of the unrestrained authorities) at their face, defied (it) and joined the prison, which was looking forward for him? Will it turn out to be useless, that the great man Pandit Motilal Nehru, who was enjoying royal luxuries among men, abandoned his comforts and good fortune, transgressed the order of the Government, which makes him a slave for life, and, accepting the whole ordinance of punishment inflicted (on him) through the infatuation and the malice of authority, went to jail? (I say, thrice, 'No', It can never be.)

The Subjects Committee.

The amendments as indicated by Hazrat Mohani to the resolution moved by Mr Gandhi are:- That it does not always serve the purpose to be bound down by peace; that the application of violence will have to be used, such as the killing of the enemy (guerilla warfare) as he appears, during the Martial Law times, and the like; that it should be determined, that the Swaraj we deisre means the complete Government by the people, without (any) connection with the British; and that independence should be proclaimed on the 31st December 1911, (?)- as has been looked forward to by the whole country.

(The following words occur in the resolution moved in the Congress on the second day:-) "As the non-violent non-co-operation movement has greatly 'kocked down' the reputation of the Government, and, as a result of this movement, the whole country is marching toward Swaraj at a very quick pace, X X X This meeting believes, that if, when particular men in authority or the bureaucracy (lit. the class of those in authority) exercise arbitrary authority, just as they please, all the usual endeavours to prevent (the exercise of)

such authority prove fruitless, the only means of the civilised world is humble civil disobedience, instead of armed rebellion.

Neither Mr Gandhi nor (any) of his successors has the authority to enter into a compromise, either with the Government of India, or with the Government of England; and to modify the traditional doctrine of the Congress. Such things should not be done without the approval of the standing Committee, and then of the Great Congress. (The following are from the speech of Mr Gandhi) To the recent threats of the Viceroy, and to the repressive policy, which has been adopted by the Government and is spreading quickly, the only answer, which a self-respecting nation should give, is the method indicated in this resolution.

This resolution openly and clearly says to the Government, Do what you may, repress ~~kh~~ us howevermuch you may, we will make you feel repentent one day, for all your present acts, though you may not like to do so!

If the Government takes it into its head (to do) injustice, this resolution tells them, 'Take care'. This resolution challenges the Government, which is built on arrogance. It challenges the Government, which does not pay attention to the wishes of the people. I have the courage to proclaim publicly from this Congress platform, that a Government, which interdict the freedom of speech and the freedom of meeting which are the lungs given to every human being to breath the air of freedom, will positively suffer destruction.

(From the speech of Mr Patel) In the speech delivered by the Viceroy at Calcutta, he said, that the means of accomplishing Swaraj was the fighting with the sword, or the favour of the British Parliament. But he has not paid attention to the third means, which is the arrow of civil disobedience. India will believe only in the application of this arrow, and will accomplish Swaraj.

(An abstract of the speech of Sankaracharya)

The Government have now undertaken to uproot the Congress and the Khilafat programme itself. The most estimable among the authorities in the judicial department of the British Empire have proclaimed,

that the way, how the petty officials conduct themselves, as they please, is much loftier than the laws of the three late British Emperors, their present laws and the laws of the Supreme Being.

The Congress has nothing else, which it should do, than follow the path of Prahlada (a devotee of God), to defy the repressive acts of the Government, and employ (the means of) the rejection of (its) unrighteous laws.

If all the people, with one voice, adopt non-co-operation, the Government will come to a complete standstill (lit. completely stop), at once.

(Resolutions.)

2. X X X This meeting is of opinion, that the acts like 'murder', in regard to the Moplah prisoners in the railway waggon, are inhuman deeds; and that they are (acts) unworthy of the British people, who call themselves a civilised Government.

Hazrat Mohani said:- X X X The Government will not give us equal rights along with them in the Empire. They have accorded suc a rank, only to the white men and their co-religionists. We cannot become, either white men or Christians.

The All-India Muslim League.

An Abstract of the speech of the President, Hazrat Mohani.

Hazrat Mohani was exhorting the people thus:- In regions, where the Martial Law is put into force, we should, if need be, be prepared even for war.

According to my opinion, our Swaraj should be as an Indian Republic; or else, on the model of America , it should be as the United States of India. X X X In proportion as the British Empire, which at present is the mighty enemy of the Muhammadan race, goes down (lit. touches the bottom), in the same proportion will the Moslem world gain the opportunity, and have the possibility to attain its own national development.

The elephant-goad of the British is the same for both the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The fear of the Muhammadans alone, that in addition, they should be subject to the Hindus, who are superior in

numbers is another elephant-goad. If, therefore, the elephant goad of British connection perishes, the second elephant-goad alone will remain over for us.

We should not allow the third party, the English, to interfere (in disputes) between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. On account of these middle-men, animosities and caluminies will always to ' 'growing'.

Ever since the Government constrained the Muhammadan brothers at Karachi till this day, they have been perpetrating acts of severe repression. X X X To-morrow, they will not only keep the volunteers in prison without cause, but will also put the Martial Law into force; and shoot them down with machine-guns and cannon, so as to produce a crashing sound. Then, we will have to flee like cowards, and hide ourheads somewhere; or we should kill the enemy, and die ourselves. X X X The only retaliation for Martial Law as said in our Koran, is to kill the enemy, who falls under the eye, just where he appears (guerilla warfare). We should, therefore, remove our Muslim leaxgue from (the sphere of) the non-co-operation movement, or we must take away the (word of) restriction "peaceful" in the non-co-operation movement, and create an opportunity for the actions, which we think of doing. "

So long as the Government employs the punishment of imprisonment, our movement may be peaceful. We cannot say, what the affair will be afterwards. When the Government begins to hang (people) and shoot them down with cannon, it will become insupportable for us to be peaceful.

Before the ordinary things desired by is in the Khilafat affair are settled, the Hindus should not consent to any compromise with the Government in the matter of Swaraj. X X X We must not fall into the deceit caused by our enemies. It is extremely necessary to establish xx a complete independent rule in India. The Hindus and the Muhammadans should immediately meet and talk with each other, and have complete independence proclaimed by Mahatma Gandhi. Then the game of any schemers, who frame evil devices between (the two communities) cannot go on.

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Resolutions.

(4) This meeting is of opinion, that all the Communiques of the Government in the matter of the Moplahs are not true. This meeting expresses its severe indignation, at the strange acts of the Government in Malabar, the Martial Law, the death of the Moplahs in the railway waggon, etc.

One of the speakers, Mr Abbas Tyabjee, said:-

As soon as it was known, that death had occurred of the Moplahs in the railway (waggon), the officers of Malabar should have been driven out of their offices. If such a thing as this had happened in England, no minister could have remained in power for even twenty-four hours.

The Students' Conference.

The speech of Mrs Sarojini Naidu exhorted the people as follows: "Make renunciation, make renunciation. Join the national peace-army. 'Make' the reputation eternal, that you have broken the bonds of the servitude of mother India."

Resolutions were passed that, in pursuance of the order of the Congress, all students above eighteen years should leave Government schools; and that those under eighteen should also be allowed to become volunteers.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO & Khilafat Movement (1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.   Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications(Seditious)- Criminal Procedure Code-Section 99A - Newspaper "Indian Independence"-Volume I No. 3 Proscribed.

~~Declared forfeited~~

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.383(Ordinary)dated 10-3-1923, Public Dept.

Declared forfeited all copies of the issue No. 3 of Volume I of a newspaper in English entitled the "Indian Independence" dated 1st March 1923 printed in Berlin.

OUR AIMS: To attain complete and absolute Independence of India by all possible means and to establish the Federated Democratic Republic in which Sovereignty must rest with the people.

The Indian Independence.
March, I, 1923.

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The most absorbing topic at the present time is no doubt the adoption of the means and methods to remedy the evil system of an alien Government. It is held by all spokesmen that the painful plight of the Indian people has been caused by the mal-administration of the Britishers who are not responsible to the governed for their actions. . . . . . .

The leaders of the movements recognize the sufferings, privations, oppression and repression inflicted on the people by the British Government. . . . . . .

Had it not been India and a few other colonies to be retained for the raw products, the industrial revolution would have perhaps swept away monarchy from Britain. The English business interests also offered employment in the Government, commercial and military services in India thousands of middle class Britons and gave wages to the laboring masses for their slavery. . . . .

The Governing classes of England created, moreover, in India in a class of landed aristocracy and middle-men who deal in the British

~~products and so on~~

products, and a corps of intellectuals who prostitute their intelligence at the sevice of the British . . . .
The organizers must, however, be warned that the methods of the Y.M.C.A., Missionaries, Red Cross should be carefully avoided. They teach the people obedience to law and order to protect the vested interest. Though there are certain fundamental principles of labor organization applicable everywhere, variation in respect to local conditions have to be taken into consideration . .

Present day India suffers from foreign oppression and exploitation. No calss or community is immune from it. The foreign oppressor exploits the Indian as Indian irrespective of his class a and religion. Therefore, the first and foremost thing any Indian can do is to combine together against the foreign oppressor. Indeed some of the traitors are helping the foreign exploiter against their own countrymen, but they will have to face the wrath of the revolution when it comes in India. Secondly, the masses form the mainstay of the fight for independence, hence it is imperative that they should be organized and should be the vanguard of the revolution. We do not see any fear of civil war or division of the Indian nation by this undertaking. It is merely a pure hypothesis. . . . .

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S. & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Proscribed Literature 23

Abstract of the GOs.

("Chauri-choura judgement" - English leaflet - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.305: (Ordinary) dated 14-3-1923:Public Department

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Government of Madras declared forfeited ~~in~~ an English leaflet issued by the Communist International entitled"Chauri-Chaura judgement"

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S. & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature 192

Abstract of the GO.

("Indian Independence" - English Newspaper - Proscribed).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.212 (Ordinary) dated 19-3-1923,Public Department (Mis).

The Government of Madras declared forfeited all copies of the issue No.2 of Volume I of a newspaper in English entitled the "Indian Independence" dated 1st Febraury 1923 printed in Berlin.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S & Khilafat Movement 1920-22

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature '23

Abstract of the G.O.

("Section: India" - Circular 1 - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.244, (Ordinary) dated 26-3-1923; Public (Genl) Departmen

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Government of Madras declared forfeited all copies of Circular No.1 issued by the International Working Men's Association, Berlin headed "Section: India".

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.O. & Khilafat Movement 1920-23

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature 23

Abstract of the G.O.

("Open letter to Chittaranjan Das and his followers" - English Leaflet - Forfeiture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.247, (Ordinary) dated 26-3-1923:Public Departme

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Government of Madras declared forfeited the English leaflet by M.N.Roy entitled "Open Letter to Chittaranjan Das and his followers".

~~Selections from ... relating to ... Proscribed ... English Books (1923)~~ 46

XII. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by the Madra Government.

Extract from the Book/"An appeal to the Labour Unions of India". ~~"Circular No.1 issued by the International Working Men's Association, Berlin - Proscribed."~~
(Date of Proscription 26th March--1923--G.O.No.248-Mis. Public.)

12th February, 1923.

It is urgently requested that you have the following appeal translated into your local vernacular and given the widest possible publicity.

C.P. of India.

AN APPEAL
TO THE LABOUR UNIONS OF INDIA.

WORKINGMEN AND WORKING WOMEN:

The world has been shocked to hear of the prostitution of justice which condemned to death ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY TWO ~~ax~~ of the men arrested at Chauri Chaura more than a year ago, after the revolt of the exploited peasantry in the district of Gorukpur was frowned in blood. These men are to be executed with the sanction of the "Law" obtensibly because they took part in the riot at Chauri Chaura, in which 22 policemen were killed. 172 men, the majority of whom are poor cultivators, driven to revolt by the pressure of unbearable exploitation by the Government as well as by the Talukdars, are condemned to death in revenge for the lives of 22 policemen, who fell while defending "law and order". In other words, the cirme of these men was that they dared to assert their right to live, and challenged the authority which orders them to toil and starve perpetually. Chauri Chaura was the scene of revolt not only against the Government, but also against the established order of society, against the sacred right of property, of landlordism. Hence the hand of repression has come down there in its naked brutality, first as armed forces firing upon an unarmed mob, then in the wholesale arrest of all implicated, and lastly as this legal massacre. This act cannot be denounced too strongly.

While 172 brave soldiers of freedom are standing at the foot of the gallows, the National Congress, which called upon the peasantry to act, remains silent, content with expressing peious horror at this

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"barbarous violence", which overshadows the "atrocious violation of Non-violence" at Chauri Chaura. Those who have exhausted their vocabulary in condemning the Government law-courts, today pathetically hope that an appeal to the higher courts will save the lives of these men obvious. We do not desire to expose that reason here. What we want at this moment is to take some vigorious, effective steps to save these comrades of ours from the gallows or life-long transportation, to which at best the sentence can be reduced by the High Court.

Workers of India: It depends on you to save these men. No idle resolutions, no expression of horror, no criticism of imperialist justice will be of any avail. These men stand at the door of death in consequence of their courage in responding enthusiastically to the call of Non-Cooperation, and they can be saved only by effective Non-Cooperation, which no other section of the people but you, - the producers of everything, the lifeblood of Society,-can declare to enforce the demand for the release of your condemned comrades.

Workingmen and WorkingWomen of India: Demand the release of the Chauri Chaura victims UNDER THE THREAT OF A GENERAL STRIKE. Do not permit the upper-class leaders to sabotage this urgent action in defence of your class, and in protest against the barbarity of Imperialist justice. Such an action on your part will have the sympathy of an will be supported by the revolutionary proletariat of the world.

Workingmen and Workingwomen of India: Declare a general strike and save these soldiers of freedom.

(Signed) For the Communist Party of India

M.N.Roy.

Selections from files relating to non-cooperation movement
Proscribed literature :: English Book (1923)

XI. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by the Madras GOVERNMENT.

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Extract from the Book "Circular No.1 issued by the International Working men's Association".
(Date of Proscription ~~August~~ 26th ~~March~~, 1923--G.O.No.244--Mis.Pub)

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS.
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MENS ASSOCIATION.
ASSOCIATION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS TRABAJADORES.
INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER ASSOZIATION.

Addresser toutes les communications
a: Fritz Kater (pour 1 AIT). Kopernikus
strasse 25th, Berlin O 34. No. 1 Berlin.

SECTION: INDIA.

Press Bulletin for Immediate Publication.

The revolutionary syndicalists (trade union -- federations) of Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, South America, Mexico and other countries, representing approximately two million organised workers, assembled in an International Congress in Berlin from December 25th to January 2, and -- established the International Working Men's Association.

Upon the initiative of certain Indian Anarcho-Syndicalists in Europe, and of the Secretary of the -- Association, the present head-quarters of whose International Bureau are in Berlin, at Kopernikusstr, 25, a committee for spreading a knowledge of revolutionary -- syndicalist principles in India was constituted. This Committee, without being formally affiliated to the I.W.M.A., will work in complete accord with the new International.

The International hopes that, as its principles are in many respects in agreement with Indian labour ideals, the Indian workers and peasants, organised into industrial unions will eventually declare their ---solidarity with and affiliation to it.

For the benefit of Indian readers, it may be necessary to point the difference between the new --- International and the ~~difference between the new~~ existing organisations which go -- under the name of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions working in co-operation with the League of Nations and the Red Trade Union International (R.T.U.I) which has its seat in Moscow.

The labour unions which make up the Amsterdam International are reformist organisations which work in co-operation with the capitalist

class and the Governments of their respective countries, such as England, Italy, -- Germany, etc.

When the Russian Revolution broke out, the International of Communist Parties was created in Moscow, known as the Third or Communist International. The revolutionary syndicalists throughout the world supported the Revolution in every possible way. At the invitation of the Communist International in 1921 these -- organisations, along with other trade unions, sent -- delegates to Moscow to consider the formation of an International of Revolutionary Trade Unions. But, when their delegates, as for example, those from Spain, Italy, Germany, America, etc., discovered that the purpose of the R.T.U.I. was really to subordinate the working class movement to the political communist parties in each -- country, which in their turn were merely carrying out -- the foreign policy of the Russian Government, they refused to join the R.T.U.I., and their delegates returned to -- their respective countries.

The urgent necessity, however of creating an International fighting organ for the working class movement, led the revolutionary syndicalist unions to convene the -- already mentioned International Congress in Berlin, where they formed the new International of Revolutionary -- Syndicalists under the name of the International Working Men's Association, independent of any political party or any Government, and working solely in the interest of the working masses of the world in the struggle for --- their emancipation from economic exploitation and --- political oppression.

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation movement. Proscribed Literature :: English Books (1923) (1924-25)

X. Extracts from Proscribed English Books and Pamphlet by the Madras Government.

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Extract from the Book "Open letter to Chittaranjan Dass and his followers".
(Date of Proscription 26th March--1923--G.O.No.247--Mis.-Public.)

Extracts from Open letter to Chittaranjan Dass and his followers

x x x x

Today they oppose the Non-cooperation programme, not because it is not revolutionary enough to meet the situation, but because it is not "rational". But there is no such curious thing as a rational revolution and swaraj can be won only through a Revolution.

x x x x

Neither of these 2 elements is able and willing to rise up to that heighth of revolutionary outlook which is required to drag the Congress out of the miserable rut into which it has sunk under the leadership of the lower middle-class spiritualists.

x x x x

The change should be so formulated as actively to involve into the movement those social forces that are bound to be uncompromisingly revolutionary, namely the workers and peasants - those who have nothing to lose, but a world to gain. The future belongs to this element. The time has come for the organization of this objectively revolutionary element into a political party of its own, which will be the great Peoples' party of India. The organization of this party, the future leader of the struggle for national independence, - is the task of those who stand for a change, but for a forward looking change in the Congress Programme.

x x x x x

but this tactical value also becomes problematical if there does not exist a revolutionary party which will send its members to the polls with a concerted programme, and will back their actions in the Councils by means of mass actions outside.

x x x x x

None but the party with a revolutionary outlook and a large following among the masses can carry on successfully the tactics of "wrecking and obstruction".

x x x x x

Given a clear understanding of the Cross-currents of the social forces actuating our movement, you are the vanguard of the Revolutionary Mass Party, which is the crying need of the day, and which alone will save the Congress from the disgraceful fate of sinking into the neoliberalism of the Mahratta politicans on the one hand, and on the other, from the equally disgraceful fate of surrendering itself to the imbecile leadership of ultra-Gandhism,

x x x x

XV. Extracts from Proscribed English Boo[illegible] phlet by the Madras Government.

Extract from the Book "A Leaflet on Chauri Chaura Judgment" Date of Proscription April 14th--Year 1923--G.O.No. 305--Mis-Pub

The Executive Committee of the Communist International
Moscow, February 26th.

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Dear Comrades

Enclosed herewith is the appeal of the Communist International in connection with the condemnation to death of 172 villagers of Chauri-Chaura.

The Secretariat of the Communist International request you to get it published in the European Press and is the as well as in the Indian newspapers.

With Communist Greetings

P.P. The Secretariat of the Communist International

(Signed) O.W. Kuusinen.

TO THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Imperialist, justice has condemned 172 men to death in India, One year ago 228 men were put on trial charged with participation in a riot which resulted in the burning down of the police station at Chauri Chaura and the killing of 22 policemen, One hundred and seventy-two men are to be executed in revenge for the ~~destroy~~ death of 22 policemen who fell while defending "Law and order". The atroci of this legal murder is unparalleled even in the bloody history of British rule in India. 172 Indian peasants are going to be hang while the sereen in hardly down upon the bloody drama of the Mop Massacre and while brutal repression has not yet succeeded in c the rebellion of the Sikh peasants. The revolt of the colonial m has attained such dangerous proportions that Imperialism has in ted a veritable reign of terror to maintain its position.

Since 1919 India has been a seene of mass murder and brut repression. Beginning at Amritsar, British Imperialism has go making free use of tanks, bombing-planes . . . bayonets in order to drown the rebellions . . . of blood. The jails of the country contain more than 30,000 me

and women arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for taking part in the nationalist movement. 6,689 poor peasants of Malabar (Mophlas) are undergoing penal servituds. Five of them have been hanged and 70 suffocated to death. 5,600 Sikh peasants of the Punjab are lying in Jail, beaten and maltreated. To aid to this inglorious record, another 172 men are to be sent to the gallows.

The great magority of these condemned men belong to the poor peasantry which was driven to revolt under the unbearable burden of war taxation and unprecedentedly high prices. The revolt was directed simultaneously against the native landlords and foreign government both of which jointly suck the blood of the peasantry. The revolt was expressed in the form of huge mass demonstration under nationalist slogans and direction. These demonstration were peaceful since the leaders of the nationalist movements are petty bourgeois pacifists believing in the cult of Non-Violence But Imperialism would not suffer, even a peaceful demonstration of the unarmed masses. A procession of about 3,000 people was fired upon from the police station of Chauri Chaura by which it was passing towards the near-by market in order to picket the same of foreign cloth. This act of provocation infuriated the peaceful demonstrators who attacked the police station all the inmates of which more killed in the affray. The casualty on the side of the insurgents was never disclosed, but the result of firing volleys upon a crowd of 3,000 can be easily imagined. The fury quickly spread in the surrounding districts and devloped into a dangerous agraian uprising which was suppressed by military forces rushed to the sopt. The number of those perishing at the merciless hand of "law and order" is not known. Upon the suppression of the revolt a considerable number of men were arrested 228 of whom were sent up for trial under the charge of "murder and arson". The trial has ended by condeming 172 of the accused to death.

The international proletariat engaged in a bitter struggle with capitalism in every part of the world must not let this imperialist butchery go unchallenged. The revolt of suffering masses in the colonial countries is a powerful factor volutionary struggle for

the overthrow of bourgeois dictatorship and the inauguration of a new order of society. Imperialism tempts to drown this revolt of the colonial masses in rivers of blood. The proletariat of the imperialist countries cannot remain indifferent. Energetic action must be taken in behalf of Indian comrades fighting bloody battles against imperialist terror.

WORKING MEN AND WORKING WOMEN! Hold protest meetings and demonstra-tions condemning this act of imperialist butchery are demanding the release of the condemend men, Demand of the International and the Amsterdam International that they call their mainstay, the British Labour Party, to save the lives of 172 Indian Peasants whose only crime was that they were hungry and they were so unbearably hungry because they had been free contribute too much for the prosecution of the "war for . . . Demand of the two and a half International that its backbone, the Independent Labour Party, be asked to rise up to its noble provisions of pacifism.

PROLETARIAT OF GREAT BRITAIN! It is your duty the lead in this case. Call upon the Labour Party to take Parliamentary action against this bloody deed of British Imperialism. If the reformist leaders will not be moved to action even by such flagrant violation of every moral and legal code, they hold up as standard for others, you must repudiate their leadership and resort to direct action in order to uphold the right, of subject peoples to revolt, and to domonstrate the world wide solidarity of the toiling masses in their struggle against capitalism. The wild career of Imperialism gone and mad can be only checked under a treat of direct action of the home proletariat.

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!

VICTORY TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF INDIA!

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C. S & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

("Vanguard" - Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.321 (Ordinary) dated 20-4-1923:Public Department

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Government of Madras declared proscribed the issue No.3 of Volume II of "Vanguard" dated 15th March 1923 published from Dublin.

21.

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"GANDHI-MAHATMUNI NIRBANDHAMU"

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Summary from a copy of a Telugu book entitled "Gandhi-Mahatmuni Nirbandhamu" (The Imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi- Translation from Hindi by Gorrepati Venkatasubbayya.

Although it is stated on the wrapper that it is a translation of the Hindi book of Giridhar Sukla, the translator does not scrupulously adhere to the text of the original; for he informs his readers in the preface that he has departed from it in certain places. The book contains matter of such a highly seditious nature as will undermine the loyalty of its readers to the present Government constituted by law and will bring it into intense hatred and contempt among the people of the country?

G.O. No. 324, dated 21-4-1923, Public Department:

Gandhi Mahatmuni Nirbandhamu (The Imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi).

Page 1.

Mahatma Gandhi has, by his own 'history' shown before the eyes of the world, that before the splendour of the soul, the sharp sword became a garland of flowers; that before the radiance of god Brahma, the bullets from cannon become much softer than wax; that before penance, the dreadful fire of the learning of the present day becomes cold; and that where there are kindness, sincerity and non-violence, there the sword slips from the hand of the murderer.

Page 2.

Mr. Gandhi's father would speak in opposition to his Raja (whose Diwan he was) and the Government official in some matters; and was not afraid, that he might lose his appointment.

Page 3.

The people of Africa began to look upon Mr. Gandhi, as very much meaner than the Adi-Andhras and the cobblers, when he had wanted that he too might be admitted as a vakil, all the pleaders there opposed him saying "A black cooly should not be in our association! The people of South Africa would look upon him as a very low fellow. He had agitated and obtained a victory in getting the law passed

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by the Natal Parliament to drive out the Asiatics, repealed. He had agitated in this manner for the repeal of another law, but the Government did not annul it. Reuter hhad informed Africa about Mr. Gandh's agitation in India, regarding the wretched lot of the Indians in South Africa; and

Page 4.

the hatred of the whitemen there towards him increased further.

The whitemen of South Africa used to defraud and deceive the original dwellers there, and sell them as slaves to America. X X By their intelligence and deception, the whitemen had become the rulers there and made the aborigines slaves and coolies. But these whitemen do not labour without coolies, their business cannot go on.

Page 5.

The whitemen could not bear to see the (prosperity) of the Indians. As the Government was of the whitemen, they made laws so as not to make the Indians acquire wealth. It was not, therefore, possible to earn property. Cooly became the name of the Indians. This spread so far that, when Mr. Gokhale went to Africa, he too was called a cooly.

They thought that when Gandhi went there he also was a cooly. Once, when he was travelling in the first class carriage of a train, the guard had him forcibly pulled out, and cuased his luggage to be thrown out. Without a word, Gandhi got into the goods waggon. All his luggage remained in the station, and he lay exposed to the chill throughout the night. On another occassion, he was going in a horse carriage. The owner of the carriage gave him a slap on the cheek, pulled him out, and seated him on the top of it. On a certain day, he was going on a foot path. A sepoy (soldier) came from behind, and gave him a kick. Everywhere in that country, they would dishonour Gandhi like this. He had to remove his turban in court.

Page 6.

When Gandhi agitated in India at first, the white men began to think as to what they would do with him.

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When in 1896, he arrived at Durban, the rumour spread, that Gandhi had brought thousands of skilled native workmen, and that dust would fall into the mouths of the white coolies. At the time of the landing of the passengers, thousands of white men came there to kill Gandhi. The police Inspector came and said, that they should land after nightfall. X X The crowd recognised Gandhi and began to fling stones (at him).

Page 7.

For the service which had been rendered by Gandhi in the Boer War the British Government conferred upon him the title of 'Sergeant-major' and gave him a medal. This is not really a prize but a kind of bribe given to the leader. As a reward for this service, hardship increased more than ever before.

Page8.

The duty of the Department organised for the Asiatics was to make separate laws for the balckmen and subject them to affliction s.

Page 8.

There was no diminution at all in the dishonour shown by the white men towards the Indians. They were disgracing the Indians in the bazaar. X X X A disgraceful law fell to the lot of the Indians, as a reward for the help rendered by Gandhi during the revolt. This made every Indian a cooly. All the Indians must get their names registered. Besides, they had to leave their finger impressions. like prisoners. The Indians had determined

Page 9.

not to yeild to this low though they might lose their properties and lives. In 1902, Gandhi had declared the war of Satyagraha (righteous indignation), caused a strike and made known the new force. X X X They began to conquer brute-force by soul-force. They were prepared to go to jail, and offer up their lives; but did not consent to the putting of the finger impression alone. The Government

officers began to cause (the names) to be registered, but 95 per cent (of the Indians) disregarded the registration of their names. For this the Satyagraha heroes had to go to jail. (The authorities) arrested and punished Mahatma Gandhi. Jail clothes were given to him. He had to be with (the members of) the forest tribes and uncivilised men, (the authroties) made him to very mean work. He had to remove human exreta always.

Page 10.

The Government did not fulfil their word. Though three months had elapsed, the law was not repealed. X X X Again, Gandhi proclaimed Satyagraha. X X X Gandhi was again arrested and sentenced to two months rigorous imprisonment.

Page 11.

The authorities made a demoniacal law. But it, the marriages of Indians became illegal. By this, the Indians were subject to great dishonour. Much dissatisfaction grew even among women.

The news of the sentence of three months' imprisonment passed on Mr. Gandhi reached the four quarters. All the coolies struck work. X X X Gandhi was again arrested and sentenced to 15 months imprisonment. His followers were captured and brought to Natal. The authorities behaved most cruelly to suppress the strike. Many were shot down with guns.

Page 12.

The satyagrahis obtained a complete victory. X X X If the Government of our country is ours, we can non-co-operate with a foreign country in order to protect the honour of our brethren in that land. X X X. Along with political agitation, the control of self and the practise of obstraction and meditation developed. Does not gold become finer, the more it is heated in fire?

Page 13.

He had written some articles in the Gujarati language, which he afterwards published in the form of a book entitled

the Indian Swaraj. All the principles of non-co-operation are (to be found) in this book. All non-coperators should read this book. It has been translated into several languages.

Page 14.

The whole of the Camparam District was in pain owing to the hardships which had been inflicted by the English indigo merchants. There was none to see their (the people(s) griefs. Neither the Government nor the popular leaders perceived their abominable conditions.

Though the crops had failed in Kaira, Government began to collect the taxes. Gandhi taught Satyagraha. Fearless of giving their property for attachment and of going to jail, the ryots did not pay the taxes. Though they

Page 15

had lost their goods cattle and lands; and though they had been inflicted with punishment, they did not abandon the Satyagraha vow. At last, the Government were unable to do anything, and stopped collecting the taxes in accordance with the wishes of the people. This is the greatest of all victories.

The Mahatma also was invited to a conference convened by the Government at Delhi in connection with the War. On the first day Gandhi left the meeting saying, that he did so because the Government had made a mistake in not inviting to the Conference the popular leader of India, Lokamanya, Bala Gangahdara Tilak.

As soon as the war came to an end, the angle of vision of the Government changed. Though all the people had unanimously condemned it, they framed the Rowlatt Act, which was like the missile of god Brahma, in order to do away with the political agitation in this country.

Page 16.

By this, the whole of India might be regarded as seditious. The police obtained the authority to submit even great men to hardships. Not only had the Government made great

endeavours to stop hartal on the 6th April, but they also fired guns in Calcutta, Delhi and the Punjab. Several were killed on account of this. On the 13th April, General Dyer cuased (the military) to fire on the peaceful people for ten minutes, till all the ammunition had become exhausted. (The authorities) tormented the people the people of the Punjab in several ways. X X X The Congress Committee which had investigated into this affair made it known how by the Punjab murders, British justice suffered distruction. The Hunter Committee laid the whole 'evil' on Satyagraha, and covered up the crimes perpetrated by the British officers. As the Parliament also had examined (the report of the committee) and said that (it) was just, the people lost all in British justice.

Page 17.

When the English and the Indian Governments not only failed to do justice in the matter of the disgrace ~~and~~ and the awful murders, which had happened improperly in the Punjab; but the English also gave subscriptions as a reward to General Dyer who had committed the horrible murders; and when Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, violated the pledges he had made in regard to Turkey; then Mahatma Gandhi grew desperate with the Government, and started the non-co-operation movement.

Page 18.

Saying that in all ways the people should stop helping the Government, the Mahatma introduced the non-co-operation resolution as follows.

1. Relinquish the Government titles and honorary offices. Give up the seats in the Municipal councils, the Taluk Boards and the District Board to which the Government have appointed you.
2. Do not take part in the dinners and durbars of the Government; and in the entertianments (lit. good acts) arranged for by their officers, or given in their honour.
3. Cause the students to gradually stop going to the

the Government educational institutions and the schools aided by them. Establish national schools in place of these educational institutions.

4. The lawyers and the parties should gradually boycott courts. Establish panchayats for the people to settle their disputes.

5. Neither the soldiers, nor the clerks, nor the coolies shoudl 'agree' to do work in Mesopotamia.

6. No one should stand as a candidate (lit. a representative) to the new Legislative Councils. Let the voters not give their votes to those, who stand for election contrary to the Congress settlement; but let them boycott the legislative Councils.

7. Boycott foreign articles. Then he made a profound speech, that only the cloth woven (with yarn) and spun in our country, should be worn.

Page 19.

Several persons resigned Government appointments. None of the Nationalists went to the Legislative Councils. Many relinquished their titles also. Excepting small pleaders, several big vakils, gave up their profession. Everywhere, national schools were established and panchayat courts were set up. The prohibition of drink too increased, and also the propaganda for khaddar. The Government and the enemies felt afraid and began to proclaim, that this agitation was opposed to law.

Page 20.

The authorities and the opponents of the movement had tried to destroy it (the movement) in this way; but they did not obtain victory even in the least. The influence (lit. majesty) of Mahatma Gandhi spread all over the country, and this movement achieved progress in an extraordinary manner.

Mahatma Gandhi spoke at the Nagpur Congress as follows: Some say, that we should not give up (our) connection with the British I consider that to think so is injurious to our honour. When the British Government are not prepared

Page 21.

even to admit their faults; can we not say, that we cannot retain (lit. preserve) our connection with them. It is our righteous duty to destroy the Government which cannot protect our national honour. If we do so, the English at least hereafter, be vigilant lest we should severe our connection with them, if they do not behave justly towards us. X X X. Several leaders, such as Lala Lajpat Rai, maintained this resolution of Mahatma Gandhi. The resolution was approved of by universal consent. The resolution, anent the non-co-operation movement moved in Calcutta was improved upon; and civil disobedience, and the putting into force of the withholding of the payment of taxes were postponed.

Page 22.

This agitation began to develop throughout the country, thousands of students in Bengal had left the Government . schools and began to labour for the progress of this agitation. The prohibition of drink and the boycott of the foreign cloth increased. Many persons resigned Government appointments. The pleaders gave up their practice. As the influence (lit. majesty) of Mahatma Gandhi had increased, among the young and the old, the faith of crores of Indians in the Government suffered destruction.

As the non-copperation movement had attained such development even in a very short time, the authorities got frightened and thought of suppressing this movement; but on this occasion, the movement had so far progressed that the Government could not stop it. (The people held meetings all over the country, and began to condemn severely the policy (lit. ordinance) of the Government and its excesses. The Government saw all this; and, unable to keep quiet, adopted the policy of repression throughout the country. In some large towns, under section 144 they prevented the holding of meetings, and leaders going to and delivering lecturers at (them).

Page 23.

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Page 23.

Even the Advocate-General to the Government of Madras said that it was opposed to law to serve a notice to stop the delivering of lectures under section 144. But the Government did not hear any one, imprisoned the great leaders of the country under section 144, and stopped several papers which had fearlessly condemned the actions of the Government. The Government had tried to stop our agitation in this manner, but they did not obtain any victory. On the other hand, in proprotion as they adopted the repressive policy, the thought prevailed among the peoplem that they should work with greater enthusiasm than ever.

Page 22.

Mahatma Gandhi said at Bezwada:- "The sense of respect in the minds of the people for the Government has now suffered destruction."

Page 25.

Mr. Spoor spoke about Gandhi as follows :- "Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest man in the whole universe. None in the world has so many followers as Mahatma Gandhi".

When the Mahatma was going round the whole country (to collect money) for the Swaraj Fund, the authorities and the opponents of the movement derided him saying, that such a large amount could not be collected. But Mahatma Gandhi did not care for the words of anyone, and began his work with the help of the leaders of the country.

Page 26.

A 'victory' had attended the Mahatma (his) opponents shut their mouths. The Mahatma began to preach to (his) countrymen, that they should complete the boycott of the foreign cloth before the 30th September. Then the people all over the country began to burn the foreign cloth. In Bombay, Mahatma Gandhi burnt down a heap of foreign clothes, twenty five feet high.

Page 27.

The big merchants in the country also took an oath, that henceforth they would not get the foreign cloth.

Mahatma Gandhi said, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should be boycotted; and that when he came to Bombay on the 17th a hartal should be observed throughout the land. All the leaders of the country accepted the word of Mahatma Gandhi. When the Prince had come to Bombay on the 17th, a complete hartal took place, much to the surprise of the Government. From the village to the town, nowhere in the country was even a single shop opened on that day. All business in the country came to a standstill on that day. As such a hartal as this had taken place in the matter of the boycott of the Prince, the Government felt (some) misapprehension. Wherever the Prince went there the people boycotted him. Then the Government began to repress (the people) severely. Mahatma Gandhi saw this; held a meeting of the All India Congress Committee at once; and resolved that every province might, on its own responsibility, practice civil disobedience, if its people were not filled with excitement but would remain non-violent.

Page 28.

The Government saw, that meetings were not held throughout the country. They declared, that the Congress Committees and the volunteer corps were opposed to law. The police began to beat the volunteers, without any compassion whatsoever. However much they were afflicted, they remained peaceful and began to go to jail, without giving security As the policy of repression was adopted with severeity all over the country, thousands of men were being arrested everyday. As the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi was unsurpassed throughout the country, the Government began to think night and day of constraining him.

Page 30

Eversince the day when the Mahatma condemned the improper conduct of the Government, began to develop the popular force, and started the non-co-operation movement ,

in our country, he has been 'moving' in the eyes of the Government.

Page 33.

When Mr. Gandhi had been arrested, all the people thought that, by binding down the goddess of India's fortune, the Government committed a great mistake.

Page 34.

The Mahatma's message to the Indians:- Indians should completely destroy the foreign cloths, wear khaddar alone, and be peaceful.

The harder the punishment inflicted on me, the sooner will the non-co-operation movement find development. You should use all your time for the production of kahddar alone.

Page 36.

To the Parsis:- It is unlikely, that we can have a remedy for the injustices of the Punjab and the Khilafat problem.
To the people of Malabar: The Hindus should give up their timidity, and the Muhammadans their unkindness.

Page 38.

Mr. Gandhi says in his letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan:- We will remain as slaves, so long as there are differences (between the Hindus and the Muhammadans). But if the 30 crores of Hindus and Muhammadans should be as one for all time, we would become mighty enough to oppose the whole world. It will then be a want of manliness for us, to use violence against the English rulers. Till now, we were

Page 39

afraid of seeing them, and their cannon. But as soon as we shall have understood that we have attained this harmony, we will realise that to fear is inhuman. It looks, as if in the 18 months we have done the work, which should be accomplished in some generations. But there is much yet to be done.

Page 40.

Though it is desired, that many men have yet to relinquish their titles, that lawyers should abandon their profession; that students should stop going ~~nto~~ (lit. prohibit)

Government schools, that the members of the Legislative Councils should resign (their places), and that the civil and military officers should give up (their) appointments; yet the country should cease to work in this direction, and consolidate all that had taken place before. The country should be propped up by the strength of the actions done, in order that others may give up their connection with the Government, which we are trying to mend, if practicable, or end.

Page 41.

We think of the Government as a system, and desire to root it out not by frightening it, but by the strength of our guilelessness.

Page 42.

To fill the jails somehow is to cause a fright. Why should the guileless still try for imprisonment till it is found, that the best man among them is not worthy of such an act.

The Swaraj Parliament alone can liberate the prisoneers even before the term of their punishment comes to an end. It is my belief that in case all wear khaddar, it is as if swaraj is come.

Page 44.

The rumour has spread once again, that (the authorities) will arrest me atonce. It is said, that some of the authorities have thought, that it was a mistake not to have arrested me even on the 11th or the 12th of February, and that the Bardoli decision should not have stopped the course of action of the Government.

Page 45.

Though at the time of excitement, the authorities forget themselves and behave like mad men; yet even we are not faultless, if we believe the Bardoli report.

Page 46.

It is certain, that the authorities should have conducted themselves with more gentleness. They should not have interferd with the Swaraj flag. They should

not have objected to the use of the town-hall. It is the property of the inhabitants of the town. The persons belonging to the Congress office have been using it for some months with the permission of the managers of the hall. All this is true. But we do not think, that the authorities have the sense of reason. We are acting adversely towards them. We do not wish for any other 'conduct' on their part, than the absence of reason and violence. It is not a new thing for the Government of the United Provinces, to make a mountain of ax molehill to cover up the indignation provoked by them, and to minimise the excitement cauased by the dead. X X X If the Government do not yield to the wishes of the people, I will be the first among all men to come forward to begin individual civil disobdience or mass civil disobedience, according to circumstances. Unless the people give up their birthright of independence, they cannot abandon the duty of disobedience such as this.

Page 47.

When the English, who are warriors by birth, abuse civil disobedience; and say, that it is an awful crime, and that it should be punished more severely; I have the doubt, whether they are speaking without hypocricy. It is not known, why the English, who praised armed rebellions and who even resorted to them when the time had come for it. should insult peaceful obstruction. X X. X I cannot perceive the objection which says, that the very principle of civil disobdience is outside the pale of morality. To say that peaceful civil disobedience should not be preached, is to say that peace should not be taught. It will amount to asking me to commit suicide. It appears, that the Government are endeavouring to destroy the three weeklies conducted by me, namely, 'the Young India,' 'the Guzarati Navajivan' and the 'Hindi Navajivan'. I think there is no basis for this rumour.

Page 48.

I cannot say, that I will not grieve, if these papers are

stopped. It is very easy for the Government to trample them down. X X X I entered into an agreement with the printers and the publishers, that the papers must stop the moment Government should ask for security. It is no joy to me, that the Government have not arrested me, fearing that there will be outbreak of violence and murders throughout the country. I do not take pride in it. Insead of it, it makes me bend down my head (in shame).

Page 49.

I desire that the constructive programme indicated by the Congress should be carried on, with the speed of the Punjab Mail and with clokwork regularity. I desire that those who hesitated till now, should abandon the foreign cloth intentionally, and make it an offering to the god of fire.

Page 50

The complete removal of the foreign cloth is one of the four props of Swaraj.

Page 51.

A non-violent person will patiently suffer all the torments cuased by his malefactor. X X X We are half-beasts. Through ignorance and arrogance, we think that,

Page 52.

by returning blow for blow, and by augmenting the rage worthy of it, we have performed the duty of our race.

Page 54.

There is no use blaming the unyielding nature of the English. Before the flame of love, the strength of shoulder, however firm, must melt indeed.

Page 57.

Unless the people adopt non-violence in their customary social and political affairs, that is, unless the civil strength exceeds military strength, it is not practicable to have an exhibition of the principle that, if India can acquire Swaraj by non-violent ~~measure~~ means will also be able to retain it through non-violence. Swaraj, through the

the path of non-violence, means the natural and gradual slipping of the Government from the appointed body, into the hands of the representatives of the people. It is as natural, as the dropping down of the ripe fruit, born of a very strong tree.

Page 58.

We must believe that just as the British yield to violence they will yield to love also. To those who do not have such a belief, the Legislative Councils alone, with their heavy and disgraceful programme are the means for some generations. Or a terrible revolution of bloodshed, the like of which was never seen, heard, or known of before in the world is the sole refuge. I do not, in the least, like to take part in such a revolution. I will not be of use to make such a thing to achieve triumph.

Page 59.

It is surprising, that the Government do not yet show any regret even in the least, for the military expenditure to have been 62 crores of rupees, which is heart-rending. X X X The army is required only to keep forcibly on the head of India, the Englishmen who are actuated, by self-interest. X X X They desire to have commerce with us not on the terms which we like, but on those which they like. X X X It is all the same whether we work with the upper garment of the Legislative Councils or without it. We should ourselves bear the cost of that garment. The reforms have coiled themselves round our necks like ghosts. By this ever so many defects are covered up. Of them, the salt-tax, which squeezes (the people) dry is one.

Page 60.

Afraid of death at the hands of our companions we like to remain as slaves. Instead of exercising authority in the name of these 'delusive' legislative councils, it will be a hundred times better, if an all-powerful military man rules (the country).

We are slaves indeed, until we get complete freedom,. Why should there be the fear of the Congress? The fear is that independence is to come. The Congress is an unshaken truth. It should therefore be destroyed, justly or unjustly. If a fearful agitation is still more caused in the hearts of the people, and that well; this looting may continue for yet another century. It is a matter to be considered, whether India can bear this pressure so long, and whether the people will not die like locusts within that time. When a man has begun to eat a cocoanut, will he consider where the 'nut' may receive the blow?

Page 61.

When all the eating is over, he will throw the shells away. We cannot say, that doing so is an act which is devoid of kindness. Even the merchant will not consider anything about ruining (lit. making a shell of) those who buy from him. This is an act which is destitute of kindness. In doing so, there will be no delicacry or kindness. The merchant realises as much as he gets and goes his way. This is all a matter of bargain. X X X. This is a dance of death. This joy is caused by the heart of the patient beating fast at the time of his death. So long as this dance goes on, the expenditure must increase. It is no wonder, if this increase is thrown on the non-co-operators.

Page 62.

The policy of the non_cooperation movement is, to a great extent, to depart from that of violence, on which the Government have depended X X X We may not be able to cause all those believe, those who take part in this 'death-dance' which has confronted them. We must be able to cuase those who take part in it believe, those who sell away their independence to purchase nominal peace.

Page 65.

The trial for sedition of Mahatma Gandhi, who is 'the Emperor of the Indian hearts' commenced on the 1stMarch 1922.

Page 71.

Mr. Gandhi's written statment.

A series of frustrated hopes.

Of these, the very first is the Rowlatt Act. This Rowlatt Act was framed, with a view to take away completely from the people their real independence. The deeds of violence in the Punjab commenced, deeds which began with the destruction of the crowd at the Jallianwalabag and resulted in such indescribable acts of disgrace, as the crawling order, and the beating with the whip in the midst of the street.

Page 72.

I hoped that, if we had co-operated with the Government the ulcers of the mind of the Punjab would be healed; and that, though the political reforms were unsatisfactory, they marked the commencement of a new era, which gave birth to hope in the life of the nation. X X X The wicked acts done in the Punjab were lightly disposed of not only have the authorities failed to punish the offenders, have also not yet removed them from Government service. They are giving pensions to some of them from the income of the State. They gave rewards also to some of them from the income of the State. They gave ~~gave~~ rewards also to some others among them. X X X The reforms themselves have been the means, for the officials to carry away the money of India yet more; and tie down this land,. Still further in enforced servitude. The opinion, that the state of helplessness the like of which never occured before in economic and political matter has happened only after the British connection has been formed, does not leave me, however much I try to do so. Disarmed India has not got now even an iota of strength to resist, if she wants to encounter with arms, those who come to attack her. This dependence on aliens has prevailed to such a great extent, that it makes several wise men among the Indians think, that many generations should pass before India can obtain the independence of the Colonies. As poverty

Page 73.

is extremely great (in the country) such a miserable plight has overtaken the people that they cannot bear the famines at all when they happen. X X X. From the information given by the English themselves it is clear, that they had blotted out the weaving industry, so very necessary for the maintenance of the Indians, by incredibly harsh, savage and demoniacal acts, and destroyed their income. The inhab tants of towns know nothing as to how the common people, who live in the villages and languish without the means for even one full meal a day, are gradually becoming living-corpses . The foreign seekerers after wealth, get work (lit. service) done by the towns folk and give a trifling brokerage to them. Those foreigners are carrying away an abundant profit. They receive this profit and that brokerage from the common people themselves, who live in the villages. Without understanding this fact, even a little, the residents of towns enjoy nominal comforts with that broker and are exultant. These inhabitants of towns cannot understand even the fact, that in this country the Government are useful only for misappropriating the money of the common people in this manner.

Nothing can hide the evidence given by the skeletons, which appear before our eyes in the villages.

Page 74.

This is the great sin, which excels all offences against human societies in history. For this, the dwellers of towns and the British are responsible. If there is God indeed, they cannot without fail be responsible to him. Even the provisions of the Code of justice are favourable only to the foreign robbers of wealth, who have come to this country. When I impartially scrutinised the martial law trials in the Punjab it has become evident, that the punishments inflicted in ninety five cases out of a hundred are thoroughly unjust. I have much experience

of the political offences in this country. Nine out of every ten persons punished are altogether innocent. The only offence they committed was, that they loved their mother-country. In 99 out of 100 cases where the westerners are concerned, nothing but injustice is done * to the foreign robbers of wealth, either intentionally or otherwise. It is very unfortunate, that the English, who have undertaken to rule the country and the Indians who are helping them, have not understood that they have to do with such a great sin as this. X X X.

Page 75.

These officers know, that on the one hand there is the subtle and effective policy of subjugating by a proper exhibition of brute force and fear, and that on the other since the manliness and strength of the other party have completely been blotted out as a result of the complete destruction of the powers of self-protection and obstruction, the evil habit of hypocritical behaviour has prevailed among them. The dreadfully evil habit of hypocritical behaviour has still further helped the ignorance and the self-deception of the rulers. Section 124 A may be said to be of the first kind among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code. It has been framed for suppressing the independence of the citizens. X X X According to the provision, under which a case was instituted against me and Mr. Banker, the spread of disaffection alone becomes an offence.

Page 76.

Some of the patriots, exceedingly loved by the Indians, were punished under that provision. X X X I believe, that it is a good quality not to have love for a Government, which has on the whole done great evil to India. Never before had the Indians become so much devoid of manliness as under this Government. Such is my belief and I, therefore think that it is a sin to love such a system of Government I think it is a priceless honour, that I had been able to

* to the Indians by the decisions of the courts of Justice in this country. There is no exaggeration in this at all. X X X The authorities thus administer the provisions of law in a manner favourable to the

write the things in the articles now exhibited as evidence of the offence I have shown, through the non-co-operation movement, a way for both England and India to free themselves from the improper system in which they move; I think I have done good servie to both the countries believe that, like the extension of help to supreme deeds, the non-extension of it to wicked acts is also on important duty of men.

Page 77.

I desire that you should inflict upon me the highest punishment which should be imposed for doing an act which according to your code of law, appears to be an intentional crime; but which, according to my opinion, is the supreme duty of a citizen. I am perfectly ready to bear it cheerfully. I submit that, if you beleive, that the legal order which you intend administering is evil, and that I am innocent, it is your chief duty to resign your office.

Page 79.

I am transported with joy, that to associate my name with that of the great man Tilak is to do exceedingly great honour to me.

Page 81.

The Articles of Mr. Gandhi for which he was punished:

I have before me two great illustrations to show the mean nature of the present Government.

Page 82.

It is my opinion, that it is indeed the righteous duty of every virtuous person to have the spirit of disaffection towards the present Government; and like a non-co-operator, consider that this Government is sinful. X X X.

It is not practicable even for Lord Reading to conduct himself so that words and deeds are not opposed to each other; until he emerges from those around him, and gets out of the way of the heaps of the series of abuses of the bad system of this Government.

Page 83.

As what is said to be independence is indeed slavey to us, we desire to be subjected to repression. As we think, that

the actions of this Government are altogehter sinful. We desire to resist this Government . We desire to destroy this Government. We have thought of making this Government yield to the people. We desire to prove, that the Government has been established to serve the people, and not the people to serve the Government. As it happens, that improper expenditure should be incurred for the protection of independence, it has become impossible to be independent under this Government. Whether we are one or many, we do not wish to lose (our) self-respect, or give up (our) own opinions and obtain independence. I know that, if the desires entertained by young children are not accomplished, they too will put up a fight and make their parents fulfil them. May Lord Reading clearly know, that the non-co-operators are waging a war with the Government. As (he) has acted perfidiously towards the Mussalmans, has caused disgrace to the Punjab, has desired to exercise his authority by force over the people, has not modified the perfidious acts, has disregarded to

Page 84

show repentence for the improper things done in the Punjab they (the non-co-operators) have proclaimed a rebellion (in the country). War with weapons and passive resistence are the only two ways for the people.

If the people are on the side of those who suffer hardships, the Government must either yield or suffer destruction. If the people are not on their side, the minority will at least be glad, that they have not sold away their independence. X X X Before this war is over, Lord Reading will realise, that there is the great tribunal of the Supreme Spirit and that it is greater than all the law courts.

Page 85.

The whole strength of the non-cooperator lies in going to jail without any kind of sorrow. X X X. It is not worthy of the Viceroy to threaten (the people) so severely as this. This is the final war. This isi the last

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battle. This is the war, which is taking place between the people and the Government of brute-force. How can a compromise be effected, while the British lion is gorgeously flinging its paw at our face.

Page 86.

Perhaps Mr. Montague and Lord Birkenhead are not aware, that India is prepared to have a taste of the cleverness, which is exhibited from beyond the seas. Do they not know, that India has sent her ultimatum? In this ultimatum alone lies the problem of swaraj. X X Those endeavours cannot, even in the least, shake the awakening of the Indian nation. The impotent men of India, who eat rice, are determined to acquire their liberation without the use of brute-force. No kingdom, which is puffed up with the 'madness' of authority and with the 'looting' of weak nations, has yet stood anywhere in the world for a long time.

Page 87.

The British Empire, which depends only on such means as brute-force cannot live. X X X If the Chouri-choura drama had not come in the way, costlier food would have been offered to this lion. What could we do? God had thought it otherwise. X X X May the British be aware that this war begun in 1920 will continue to the end. What it may take a month, or a year, or many months, or many years, any length of time. All the misdeeds, perpetrated (lit. adopted) during the time of the last rebellion (1857) may be introduced with redoubled zeal.

Page 88.

The opinions of the leaders of the country about Mahatma Gandhi.

Pandit Malavya.

The unrestrained Government has had the fulfilment of its ultimate object by arresting even Mahatma Gandhi, who has been propagating non-violence and truth, and trying to reform the evil feature of modern methods. However, I think, that the Government will correct its mistake.

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Page 89.

Mr. P.C. Ray.

Several great men said even long ago, that it was not good for the Indians to follow the western civilisation like blind men. But, through Mahatma Gandhi, Indians have been able to understand this turth to day.

Page 90.

URMILA DEVI.

By imprisoning this ascetic, the Government have admitted that his war of peace has spread throughout India.

Page 96-

Bishop Holmes.

An agitation, like the non-co-operation movement, now carried on in India, never took place anywhere in the British Empire till now. The principles, which Mahatma Gandhi is propagating today, can make India obtain independence. In proportion as the agitation develops, the British Government is obstructed. Besides, by means of this agitation, he is forming a new society.

Page 97.

Rev. H.A. Popley.

I think, that the only way to remove the disgrace caused to me by the great guilt committed by the British Government in India is to publicly declare my opinion (about it). X X To say that a man like Mr. Gandhi is an offender, is the greatest fault attributed to the British code of justice prevailing in India at the present day- a fault the like of which was never committed till now. Mr. Gandhi is never faulty. By this judgement, it has been determined in the world's history, that the British Government itself is guilty.

Page 99.

Mahatma's prison-life.

Mahatma Gandhi is the uncrowned Emperor of India. X X It has been clearly perceived by the world, how even the mighties nation in the universe has been frightened by the soul-force of an ascetic, who wears a clout. X X O Englishmen! When the bureaucracy had sent the Mahatma

to the dungeon, the world came to know of the boasting of your nation. X X X Is not the imprisonment of the Mahatma, a violation of promise? At all events, the Government brought loss to themselves by imprisoning the Mahatma.

Page 102.

Our slavation lies in khaddar. The Mahatma said that it would settle the problem of the Hindu-Moslem amity, of untouchability, and of no-violence.

The Mahatma and Mr. Banker are not well looked after in the Gerrawad jail.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, who had visited Mr. Gandhi said: The Superintendent (of the jail) was sitting on a chair. But the Mahatma stood all the time he talked. He said "They are giving me milk only once. At first, I took food thrice, but now I have it only twice." Though the Mahatma and Mr. Banker are in the same jail, permission is not granted to the former to see the latter. The room, in which the Mahatma is kept is the cell where the prisoner sentenced to solitary confinement is thrown. His room is locked during the night. The Mahatma has no bed to sleep on. He was given two rugs only. There is not even a single pillow. (They) gave him a tin vessel. for drinking water, a plate for taking food. Newspapers are not given to him to read.

Page 103.

The Superintendent said, that no book, not even a religious work would be given to the Mahatma and that if Mr. Gandhi were to send in his application for books, he would forward it to the Government. I think, that his health is not all right. But the jailor said, that the Mahatma had gained in weight.

Though the Mahatma was standing and talking with Mr. Rajagopalachari for hours together, the Superintendent did not even, as a matter of common courtesy, ask the Mahatma to sit down. Is this insufficient to make

Page 104.

the Indians grieve? It is useless to think that the

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Mahatma , who has taken a vow to change the Government or destroy it, will pray to them for comforts. X X X Who can make his soul yeild, a sould which is without birth or death? The more the Mahatma is afflicted the sooner will this scheme of laws perish. There is not the least doubt about this; for, this transformation always happens as a result of tormenting the meek.

B. Somasundara Rao, 30-3-23.
Actigg Telugu Translator to Government.

TRUE COPY

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO & Khilafat Movement (1920-25)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A Proscribed.)

REFERENCE:-G.O. No.326(Ordinary)dated 23-4-1923, Public Dept.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George April 23, 1923, (G.O.No.326, Public)

No.159 - In Exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies whereever found of--

(1) the journal in English entitled "InternationalPress correspondence." Volume 3, Nos. 13, 17,18,19,19-A,20 and 21 dated respectively the 6th,17th,20th,22nd,22nd,27th,and 27th February 1923, printed at Berlin.

(2) The newspaper in English entitled "The Vanguard," Volume II issue No. 2, dated the 1st March 1923, printed by the Emerald Press, Dublin, Ireland and

(3) an open letter addressed to the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party, London, By M.N.Roy, for the communist party of India dated Zurich Switzerland, February 1st 1923, beginning with the words "Gentlemen: Out of the 22nd men sent up" and ending with the words "condoning this legal murder by infuriated Imperialism" and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from any of the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable undersection 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

R.A. GRAHAM,

Chief Secretary.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S. & Khilafat Movement 1920-2

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

("Hind" - Newspaper - Proscription - Ordered).

G.O.No.
REFERENCE:/327 (Ordinary), dated 23-4-1923:Publid Department.

Government of Madras declared proscribed "Hind" dated 21st Febraury 1923 and its "Akali" supplement Part 2.

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EXTRACTS FROM GOS RELATING TO N.C. & Khilafat Movement 1920

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature '23

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("THE VANGUARD" - English Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered

REFERENCE: G.O.No.344(Ordinary) d/30-4-1923:Public Department.

Government of Madras declared forfeited the issue No.4 dated the 1st April 1923 of Volume II of the English Newspaper "The Vanguard" published in Dublin (Central Organ of the Communist Party of India - Communist International).

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.O. & Khilafat Movement 1920-25.

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature '23

ABSTRACTS OF THE G.O.

("The Workers' Weekly"--English Newspaper--Forfeiture--Ordered)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.3454 (Ordinary) dated 2-5-1923:Public Department.

Government of Madras declared forfeited the issue No.8 of "The Workers' Weekly" dated 31st March 1923, and No.18 of Volume 2 of the "Hind" published in London.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO & Khil movement (1920-25)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications -(Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - section 99-A - Proscribed.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.384(Ordinary)dated 10-5-1923, Public Dept.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George May 10, 1923,
(G,O'No.384, Public)

No. 174 -- In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies whereever found of- - -

(1) the issues dated the 6th March and 13th March 1923 of the newspaper in English entitled Hind published by Mr. G.S.Dara at 31/33 High Holborn, London, W.C.1, and printed by Mr. M.Brown 140, Latimer Road, North Kensington, W 10.

(2) the journal in English entitled International Press Correspondence, Volume III No. 24, dated the 8th March 1923, printed in Berlin,

(3) the leaflet in English addressed by the Presidium of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International to the All-India National Congress Gaya, beginning with the words "Representatives of the Indian People" and ending with the words"long live the free people of India,"

(4) a resolution dated the 1st February 1923, adopted by the Congress of the Communist Party of Germany, held in Leipzig, and circulated bythe Indian labour Bureau, Berlin beginning with the words "The Communist Party of Germany sends greetings," and ending with the words "Complete independence for all national entities"

and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the above publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

E.S.LLOYD,
Acting chief Secretary.

EXTRACTS ØOF THE GOS RELATING TO

IN ~~X~~THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Abstract of the G.O.

("The Workers' Weekly" - English Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: ~~409~~ G.O.No.409: (Ordinary) dated 15-5-1923:Public Department.

Government of Madras declared forfeited the issue of No.7 of the English newspaper entitled "The Workers' Weekly"dated 24th March 1923 published in London (Organ of the Communist Party).

Selections from G.O.s relating to non-cooperation and the ... proscribed literature :- Telugu Books (1923) movements ...

<u>EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS</u>.

"GANDHI MAHATMA ANN KALIYUGU PRAHLADA"

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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Gandhi Mahatma Ann Kaliyuga Prahlada" by Damaraju Pundarikakshudu and printed at the Sundharma Press, Masulipatam.

<u>G.O. No. 413, Dated 18th May 1923, Public Department</u>:

(1) Gandhi Mahatma anu Kaliyugu Prahlada (The Prahalada of Kaliyuga known as Gandhi Mahatma) by Damaraju Pundarikakshudu and (2) Panjabupata by Chillariga Srinivasa Rao.

(1) The book is a history in easy verse of the Satyagraha Movement from the time of the Punjab murders and the appearance from the time of the Punjab murders and the appearance of the Khilafat question. It was composed by Damaraju Pundarikakashudu, a man who is notorious for much seditious writing. The tone and the contents are of such highly objectionable and seditious nature as will bring the Government into utter hatred and contempt among the people of the country.'

<u>Gandhi Mahatma</u>
anu
Kaliyuga Prahlada (Mahatma Gandhi or, the Prahlada of the present Iron Age)

O people ! Listen to the history of Gandhi, the man who suffered difficulties, which he should not have had, to save his brethren in South Africa; the truthful one, who endured all the distresses caused by white men; the non-violent person, who could not bear even the least amount of misfortune, which has happened to any living being; the spureme sage, who will not give up (his) devotion to god Vishnu, in spite of all afflictions and even though he may lose (his life), and who shines forth as Prahlada, whom it is not possible for human beings, or even for great demons to overcome.

There are the wicked who stylishly put on (?) the spinning-wheel coat and wear silks and glasgow mulls and who talk about non-co-operation without, but become mean wrethces by catching vile feet within. X X X

There are the men who say 'Alas''. If the British Government should perish, the country would be thrown into utter confusion.!

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Page 2.

Some eccentric people say 'It will be well to get rid of the alien Government; but what is the meaning of putting a stop to the education of children; politically speaking, Gandhi is a king, but he is not a Brahmin to tell us of religious things!

Page 3.

The selfish man says abominably everywhere, without any farsight, If this Government does not exist here, (no one knows) what may become of you'.

Page 1.

O, god Rama! Protect the land of India. Grant freedom to her. Our country has fortunately fallen on your shoulders.

Page 2.

Tilak had his birth in Maharashtra, as if he was a lion, He possessed a charm which excelled that of the king of kings; he was born to stop the agitation of the mother of his own country.

O, Tilak! You alone are the refuge! All the sons of India have ever believed in you. O, leader! The title of 'Maharaj' befits you alone in the world. Is it possible for even all the gods to think of your greatness?

Page 3

From the time of your birth, O, hero! You trampled down the bonds of servitude. You were the wise hero, who taught (us) the firm desire for swaraj.

I salute with folded hands Tilak, whose very name was regarded by all the English people as a ghost; whom all men called the Lokamanya and worshipped; in whose blood there flowed the might of the heroic Sivaji; and who becoming Emperor, could rule all the world.

O, Mahatma Gandhi- You have given life to the land of India maintained its dignity. O, hero! You have removed the servitude under alien kings. X X X We have put our trust in you alone. Who else is there

than you? X X X I salute with folded hands the sage Gandhi, who will not set his foot on the path of unrighteousness even in the least.

Page 4.

He has no army to wage war against the enemy.

Who in the world can recount the greatness of our sage Gandhi? At his mere word, any acts will be done in India.

He is a worthless man who cannot love the land of his birth. He who refuses to love is a mean and wicked fellow, the lowest of the demons.

Page 5.

Who is the man, who does not think of his country; who holds the feet of the aliens and thrusts aside his own reputation; who goes to the rulers very much and exacts fradulent titles from them, and who covets the great ministerships saying that they are non-brahmins, and that they will make laws transgressing the words of all men.

The people, who covet places by raising the bids for toddy and arrack, are born to spoil the womb of mother India. Alas! The greatness of time!

Page 6.

O, children born in India! Lift up your heads a little, and see what a state has happened to mother India.

All her prosperity has suffered destruction, and at last English cloth is to be bought with money; we should obtain the order of an alien king to plough the land of our birth. We should pay money, purchase and use our hills, mountains, meadows and forests. When we open the mouth which God has given us, and speak, we should be afraid of the punishment of the ruler. We have to pay the tax even on salt. Pencils and pins too should unavoidably be got from other countries. Alas! Such has been the ill-luck of the country!

Having been reduced to a very low state like this, Mother India feels still more mortified under the

English rule in this manner.

Page 7.

How my honour has suffered destruction ! I have lost all lustre and radiance, and have been caught in entanglements! My sons are habituated to thoughts of base servitude! The very word 'independence' has been burnt down on the earth! The valour of my excellent sons is gone!

I have become subject to alien kings. My dignity is gone.

Where are now my great happiness, mighty prosperity, celebrity, heroism, purity, the children of that day, the wealth of learning, the fruit of penance, the merit of religion, and the fortune of reputation. What has become of them? Alas! I have been humbled under the English rule.

How can I to look at my sons, who take gruel which is but a handful, and that once a day and have become lean, and who, though born in my womb, have not the right to enjoy my property; and destitute who, though born to the progeny of those who alone were heroes in the universe, are enduring servitude; the wretched people, who have not done any meritorious act to move their mouths, hands and legs, all the sons of India, who do (acts of) servitude under an alien ruler; and the sons who, having lost all courage and enterprise, make a mighty uproar and live.

That Lokamanya Tilak had left me, and had to dwell in the prison-house for ever so many years! That Mahatma Gandhi had left me, and had to proceed to South Africa and was caught in many embarassments! That heroic Lajpat Rai had to leave this land and go to strange places! That Muhammad Ali and that Shoukat Ali, the pair of big tigers, are in the dungeon itself. My dear son, Aravinda Ghose, had left me and repaired to the forests. Alas! Alas! Ever so many others are pining away without any refuge. O God May you soonprotect me

Mahatma Gandhi has great mental anguish at the afflictions suffered by the Mother country.

Gandhi- Do not think in your mind of the pain of the bonds of slavery. Your sons have undertaken (to work) and luckily liberty will be yours hereafter.

Page 9

They will not seek the shelter of others; and will not hold the feet of others.

Page 9

Excuse us for remaining for so many days, seeing with our very eyes these hardships suffered by you.

Mother India:- Just as a patient, who is at his last gasp drinks a little of the revivifying medicine and lives, O, son! Your arrival has prevented the life of self respect from leaving me.

O, son! Consider some way of liberation for my Indian brothern from their servitude; and c uase delight to me.

Gandhi: The divine vow of Satyagraha alone will grant us emancipation. The way of the celestial person, Prahlada, who saw the grace of god Vishnu in a steel-pillar will do good. No other way will serve the purpose. This is not queer to the world. The hold, which is here, is no where else. All the people of the earth should not quit the path of my Satyagraha. God will protect us now. The kingdom will come into our possession.

Page 11.

It is only the Satyagraha vow of Prahlada, that is the royal road (suited) to the natural disposition of the Indians.

Satyagraha will willingly endure any number of hardships and give soul-force. In proportion as opposition grows, Satyagraha will develop. X X X Satyagraha will not touch weapons. O, mother! Whoever practises this vow, he as well as his enemy will have the purification of the soul, a life of perpetual purity, liberation from servitude, and the attainment of swaraj

within a period of unparallelled shortness. Soul- force will develop. Egotism will suffer destruction. They will win emancipation. X X X

Thus did the holy Mahatma Gandhi preach the vow of Satyagraha to all the people of the earth, and saved India. X X X

While all the people beat their own heads and mouths in despair, saying 'no, No' the Rowlatt Act was framed on the earth. The Rowlatt Act is a measure, which brings to our memory the kingdom of the demon, Ravana.

Page 13.

The ruler took by force, the wealth and the strength we had, to obtain a triumph in the German War. While this burden, which has accumulated, is plaguing the country, the latter ~~is burning with noise and is pining with~~ burning with indignation and is plunged in grief. The Chief rulers already bound the people hand and foot, ~~tied down~~ gagged their mouths, and threw them into a corner; and not satisfied with that, have begun to afflict them in all ways. India is thus pining away, subject as she is to many hardships. The messages of Gandhi spread, while hartals were largely on the increase, wherever one turned one's eyes. At a time when all the people had fixed th overpowering missile of Satyagraha vow (to the bow), and came upon the wicked kingdom, strange acts took place in the Punjab.

Page 14.

The great heroes, the sons of the Punjab were inaudibly repeating in their minds, the magic-spell of Gandhi, in order to make an oblation of the harmful bonds of servitude. The authorities, the dorai Dyer and the Dorai O'Dwyer happened to come there; and eager, for fighting, were torturing (lit. burning and eating) the people.

By reason of our misery, the vile wretches of Dyer and O'Dwyer met there, as if they were Maricha and Kumhakarna (the demons mentioned in Ramayana) and Kanakakasipa and Kanakasha (the demons mentioned in Bhagavata)

They committed many civipus deeds and villanies, to collect (money for) the War-loan. X X X We are ready for the jail; we will not fear. We will not fear.

Page 15.

We are away. We are away from the traitor's to the country. We believe, we believe in Gandhi alone. We will not have faith in others. X X X We are not afraid. We are not afraid of the punishments of the rulers.

While the people were thus beside themselves in a mighty uproar, te eyes of Dyer and O'Dwyer, who saw this and became jealour, were very much inflamed with wrath. They put the Martial Law into force, repressed the people and perpetrated such deeds, as are not to be found anywhere in countries inhabited by human beings. They had laid the offence on the sons of valour, Kichlew and Satyapal, and arrested them.

Page 16

O, Rama! Our rulers have become cruel, and have burnt us fiercely with dreadful hardships. O, God! We cannot bear the bürden! O, Lord of Lakshmi! Protect us!

They (the authorities) made the heroes walk very fast at the dead of night, without the knowledge of any man. (we do not know) whether they subjected them to hardships or what they did to them, or whether they put an end to them. We do not know what fate they had.

Thus, they obstructed near the bridge of the railway station the people, who had been going in search of the leaders in the city of Amristsar; drove them into a frenzy; rained fire upon them; and made an oblation of many of them without cause. The demon of Dyer had then entered the theatre of action; introduced the demoniacal weapon of Martial Law; and proclaimed that in accordance with it, meetings, festivities, processions etc and also assemblies, in which more than four people were present, were unlawful.

Page 17.

The cruel demon of Dyer had come to the meeting in the Jallianwalabagh, and besieged the place with an army saying, 'who are these fellow that brush aside my order and hold the meeting without any regard whatsoever. In a minute, he fired at the audience, so as to produce a crashing sound. Alas! Hundreds and thousands had perished, and gone to Heaven as heroes. (Uttama Singh, whose leg had been severed at the knee-joint, addressed it as follows):

O, leg! Caught in the bonds, the bonds of servitude and unable to roam about freely, you were swinging; but you have now broken the bonds and dropped down. O, God! We do not know, when we shall have such a state! (He swoons).

Page 19.

In this way Dyer made all the people greatly weep; and he drank the blood of the people of the Punjab. He is indeed the worst of the fiends. He trampled down upon men like ants and musquitoes; swept away the modesty of men and women, and dishonoured them. Tears will flow from the eyes of one who hears about the slaughter mercilessly committed by Dyer. The cruel demon (Dyer) who surpassed even Ravana did ravish the inmates of the female apartments. Countless indeed were the human beings, whom he humiliated by outraging their modesty. Innumerable were the people who died in the Jallianwalla Bagh. We do not know anything at all about the number of women and boys who perished. They (the authorities) made all the great men crawl on their stomachs in a lane, which was as broad as a span; they beat (the people) with whips when the acts required (to be done) were not performed. He (Dyer) soundly thrashed the school children, asking them to place their foot-steps in the red-hot sun. (We do not know) how many acts, that insolent scoundrel, forgetting himself, had done. We do not know how they

Page 20

could have the hands (to perpetrate atrocities). They

(the authorities) stripped the women of their clothes and committed unutterable acts. They had caused a stick to penetrate into the hole in the private parts while the person so tortured raised a frightful cry; and they saw the fun of it. They sentenced a six-year old boy to transportation, saying that he had got ready to wage war. They had acted in such a manner as not to make many young men, filled with enthusiasm, feocover what they had. They subjected to unspeakable hardships ever so many fathers like Gob Singh, who had not sent their sons to war. There were many such things. Will not our hearts break when we think of them? The authorities dispersed a marriage procession saying, that it was the cause of a revolution. They had seized the devotees, given to meditation who had gone to the temple, and made them crawl on their stomachs and beat them. They plucked out the beards of the Muhammadans who with great devotion had been offering praryers in the mosques. They cut to pieces women and infants, as in sport, without even the least compassion. They made the ~~tender infants, who read~~ young boys at school, walk sixteen miles every day in the burning sun, so that they might die. These are the cuase of the loss of the name and fame of the rulers.

They say that the downright thieves called the Thugs had without kindness wrapped wet cloths round the throats (of men) and cut them. We have heard that the Afghans had without even the least kindly feeling, wound up oiled cloths round the fingers joined together, and burnt them. Perhaps, such thing did exist. But, alas! We have never heard nor seen on the earth these villians acts of the Punjab.

This history of the Punjab, which has thus suffered from these strange acts, has spread everywhere in India, and has inflamed the severe wrath (of the people).

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By all the reports (lit. decisions) the singular, strange, and astonishing things as well as the torturous murders became publicly known our Government and their innate nature have all become plain to the world.

However much the dreadful deeds had become publicly known, the real Government in England decided that the demons such as Dyer, O' Dwyer Johnson etc. were innocent and improved their honourable positions.

Page 22.

On the pretext, that Turkey had joined Germany the Europeans undertook to wreak their former grudge. X X While the whole continent of Europe is the play-ground of the Christians, there is in the midst of them, as if in mockery, Turkey, a region belonging to an alien religion. Saying that the opportunity had come, they made the terms of the treaty very rigid. Through the operation of the fate of the followers of Islam, the destruction of the sense of respect for their own creed has happened.

Page 23.

They had entered the holy places, and asked the Khalifa to remain in a corner; without caring for respectability, they said tht they should have their own authority over the Turks. These difficulties extended to the followers of Islam in the world, and all those Muhammadans grew angry like the cobra whose tail had been trodden upon.

Till now, the Muslims of India appeared with love for the British rulers; but to-day, they are inspired with a sense of indignation.

The murders of the Punjab in India, the dishonour done to all the Muhammadans, the long-standing slavery of the Indians, have become fuel to the fire which uplifts the country and burns up the great arbitrariness so that it may not exist on the earth any longer.

In the mean time, as if to quench the fire of wrath which is raising (in a flame) Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford employed the thunderbolt (lit. the cloud-weapon) of the

new Reform Act. It exhibited outward lusture like the fruit of the glamerous fig tree. At t is juncture, a great misfortune had overtaken mother India (already) suffering from troubles, and drowned the Indians from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin in the ocean of gief, like the palmyra fruit which falls on a groaning jackal.

Page 24.

Lokamanya Tilak departed from this earth, after he had suffered many troubles with a veiw to free the earth of its burden; released his own men; resided in prison; built, from birth to death, a strong foundation for the rule of righteousness on the earth; and taught the magic-spell of swaraj.

Page 25.

Tilak to Gandhi- There will be many ~~an intricacy~~ pitfalls for the young. Take them to the shore with skill. Search for the way of liberation for the Indians.

Page 26.

With the great dawn of the sun of Gandhi, his lustre has spread to the quarters of the earth. All the people woke up as one man, while the thick darkness had left them.

Page 27.

The Ali brothers, had come out from prison and sprang like the cobra, whose tail had been trodden upon, because of the destruction of the sense of respect for their own religion.

Page 28.

The Ali brothers : Oh! Oh! You Minister, Lloyd George of a wicked soul, how have you deceived us! O, you practiser of deception and enemy of (our) religion!

Ah! What is this? Throwing dust into our eyes in broad daylight, have you thought of destroying our religion? Well! Well! When the Turkish Empire itself is coming to an end, why this life for us on the earth any longer, who do not grieve much for it in any way? Why live on this earth, when our religion is being destroyed.

We who are seven crores here in India, will leave the country and go to save our religion. It is not proper yet for us to recede now.

Page 29.

When our Khalifa is disgraced, how can self-respect accrue to us?

Page 30.

The next thing was to make the great assembly of the Congress consent to its fresh attempt, the principle of non-co-operation. Unless this was fulfilled, the non-co-operation movement could not spread well throughout the country.

Page 31.

Some said (about Gandhi), that god Rama, the saviour of the ryots, had come; Others said, that he was born in the world to establish independence.

Page 32.

Gandhi: Do no entertain doubt in regard to the non-co-operation movement. X X X The very creed of Prahlada (of Bhagavata fame) of old is the medicine even in future to remove our afflictions. It will remove villanies everywhere. X X X Brute-force will suffer destruction hereafter. X X X If we do not give help to the Government, in any way and to any extent so that we may ever protect our honour; I swear by mother India that all the bonds of servitude will soon be broken to pieces, much to the surprise of the people.

The following are not things worthy of honour in India, and they should be abandoned; namely, the desire for titles of honour; the going to Government dinners; the insanity of being deluded in the matter of the education, which sucks up and squeezes dry those of tender years; the mad desire for courts which, in the name of justice, administer injustice; the hope that the new Act, which confirms the people in servitude, will give them everything; the inordinate love for the cloths manufactured inalien countries.

All the pleaders should therefore, give up their profession and establish panchayats. People should not resort to courts. Students should at once boycott the several educational institutions of the Government. No one should take part in the Legislative Council elections, to be held under the new Reform Act of Montague and Chelmsford.

Page 33.

Candidates should withdraw (their candidature). All the people should not give their votes, that is, their consent. All should boycott the foreign cloth, set up the spinning-wheel; and wear only the cloth woven with the yarn prepared on it. If you successfully carry out their programme for the present, such things as the resignation (of their places) by the soldiers, the policemen, and other Government servants as well as the withholding of the payment of taxes will then be put into force. X X The great populace said that the resolution of Gandhi was acceptable. X X X.

Page 34.

Do not desire titles of honour. Do not taste the dinners of the Government. Do not undertake to adopt the profession of a pleader. Do not receive foreign education. Do not continue to go to Government courts. Establish panchayats. Set the spinning-wheel in motion every where. Do not give even a single vote. X X X There were some who 'drove away' titles of honour; some who left off the pleader's profession; some who gave up the help of the Government; and some who took a vow not to go to courts. X X

Page 35.

The elections of the members of the Legislative Councils then began; and all the brilliant men determined not to participate in them, through anger. The Moderates, Mr. Besant's party, and certain nameless men obtained some three or four votes in the elections, and that with extreme difficulty. The people at large did not even go to the polling stations. X X X The Reform Act

itself was boycotted. X X X There was not even the trace of a ~~worm!~~ voter X X X.

Page 36.

Here is the mad faced gentleman. You said that you would give bottles of soda to us. Where are they? Give them here! X X X Thus it happened that the elections became the butt of ridicule; that the Reform Act suffered ruin; and that some nameless men sat in the Legislative Councils with some ten or fifteen votes! X X X Then the faith of the people in the country in the non-co-operation movement greatly increased.

Page 37.

The pure Indian people came and graced the Congress at Nagpur, as though they were the army of Gandhi.

Page 38.

A resolution came up which said that self-government should be achieved, without wishing for the help of the aliens. X X X Never run about, putting faith in the aliens. X X X How long do you submit yourselves to the British Raj, ever so completely? Our destiny lies at any time in ourselves alone. X X X The resolution is, that Swaraj should be achieved by all just and peaceful means, whether the connection with the British Raj exists or not. X X X. There is yet another important resolution. It is ~~the complete~~ resolution which relates to full non-co-operation. That is to say, the Congress had accepted (the items) for the relinquishment of titles of honour down to the withholding of the payment of taxes, in accordance with the programme of Mahatma Gandhi; and authorised the Congress Committee to put the several things into practice on suitable occasions.

Page 39.

Seeing the army of Gandhi which was 30,000 strong, which was present in that great assembly, and which was like the growing national current, Mr. C.R. Das felt astonished. X X X X X The great populace set out to remove slavery. X X

Page 40.

Page 40.

It (the swaraj flag) will obtain celebrity in the other continent and will bring victory. It is the buttress of the people, which will drive out the fierce Government of the aliens. X X X It is the matchless flag, which fully bears the figure of the powerful spinning-wheel the giver of abundant freedom. X X X. There were some who had abandoned the pleader's profession and were rid of the plauge. There were others, who gave up the Government service and broke the bonds of servitude. The number of these had freely increased everywhere, from day to day, and the pure non-co-pperation movement considerably gained in strength every day.

Page 42.

The Sita ~~of~~ that is the Lakshmi (the diety of wealth) ~~has~~ having become the goddess of swaraj, ~~and~~ has been caught in the Ceylon ~~of~~ viz, the British Isles. The God Ramachandra himself had become Gandhi, and set out to release Sita, Like Hanuman, the two Alis (Muhammad Ali and Shoukat Ali) have now gone along with their lord. X X X The army of Gandhi is encamped in the Dandaka forest to day. X X X.

Page 43.

The strength of the enemy will now yield. Violence will diminish and pass away everywhere. In the present Iron Age, brute force will suffer death. Ther will not be villanies any where on the earth, and peace will prevail every where. X X X He (Gandhi) found Ramadasa (the title ~~conferred upon himself~~ assumed by Duggirala Gopala-Krishnayya of Chirala notoriety) ~~who lived in those countries~~ the Andhraratna (another title bestowed on the same individual by Mr. Konda Venkatappayya) the ~~hero who was the leader~~ leader of Rama-dandu or ~~of~~ Rama's host in those parts X X X Never entertain wrath in your minds. It is destruction. This is the truth. X X

Page 44.

All of them persistently told the Government that they did not want the Chirala municipality. Mahatma Gandhi had advised them to leave the town, go out, if necessary,

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and rid themselves of the Municipality; and, thereupon the people acted accordingly.

Page 45.

Chelmsford, during whose administration repressive measures, which had never existed in this land were adopted; during whose regime the Rowlatt Act, which was to be found nowhere on the earth, was framed for us; during whose Government demoniacal deeds took place here in the Punjab; who very highly commended all the acts ~~of~~, the demon Dyer had committed; who had said that he would grant a new Act (the Reform Act) and gave us this pot of poison with milk at the top; and about whom all the people said, 'Fie' . Fie.! Get away now! ' and whose administration has ended. X X X The whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin had beeh as though it would vomit forth sparks of fire, when ever so many persons turned back through lack of courage, from becoming the Viceroy. X X X.

Page 46.

But no sooner does one enter this land then one's nature suffers change.

Page 48.

It was to live by doing trade in this land, that the Englishmen had come here. All the vain display, which the Englishmen have, lies in the trade of our country. If the Englishmen possess any eminence, it lies in their trade. The very life of the Englishmen, has depended on the cloth, purchased by India. Know, therefore, that all the arrogance, which they have, is in our hands alone. Do not touch the foreign cloth, and then root out all their strength.

Page 49.

By pushing aside the degrading ~~foreing~~ foriegn cloth and making on oblation of it all, the people have undertaken to remove the wretchedness of Mother India and have discharged their duty seen to obtain comfort. While the programme of god Gandhi had thus been successfully carried out, the

Government were unable to bear it, and the Viceroy gradually let the promises, he had made to Mahatma Gandhi at the time of the Conference, touch the bottom; and began the singularly strange kinds of repression.

They (the Government) repressed those who had preached against the drinking of toddy and arrack. They beat those who were establishing peace by the use of section 144. They had ~~strived up,~~ provoked some how or other the people who were peaceful and enraged them. They had ~~ruined~~ applied the sections framed for the criminal tribes Yerukalas and Yenadis ~~upon~~ to (the people) and disgraced them. Now they quietly imprison one or two persons, off and on here and there, and determine the offence and the grounds for it only after their arrest.

Page 50.

Several persons were imprisoned in the Province of the Punjab. Repressive measures were on the increase here and there in the other provinces. Horrible murders, like those which had happened in the Punjab took place again in the Dharwar District. It so happened, that guns had been fired and the people fell down suddenly. X X X It was as though the whole Andhra Province had caught fire. The lawyers boycotted the courts. The vow of Swadesi greatly increased.

While revolutions were thus taking place in many localities there was a disturbance (lit. confusion) among the Moplahs of the Malabar District. The Moplahs are the heroes of war, of the Muhammadan religion. Their minds are provoked with anger and they are very wrathful. They had heard of the insult to their religion and were burnt (with indignation). Yakub Hussain, the purifer of the fallen, then up there. He thought of telling them about the non-co-operation movement and preach peace to the people. But the Collector prevented him from proceeding there at all.

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Page 51.

In the first place, fire had broken out, and add to it the Western wind blew. What can be said then? Flames had shot up in the Malabar district, and the delight of the Government party increased. The Government then exhibited again the scene, which had formerly been enacted in the Punjab, in the thought that the people might have forgotten about it. They had introduced the Martial Law, fired guns and destroyed the people. The Moplahs also had resisted, made war, spoiled the railway lines and the telegraph wires. looted wealth and perpetrated horrible deeds. Not a single non-co-operator was allowed to go there to pacify them (the Moplahs). ~~All that should have been done~~ what was to be expected under the circumstances took place. X X X Mahatma Gandhi was then working day and night without food at Bombay to induce its wholesale merchants to give up their foreign trade.

Page 52.

Perhaps they had thought that if would be a mistake to arrest the younger brother, leaving the elder one (Muhammad Ali), and they arrested Sahukat Ali. Peace was very much distrubed. Then they arrested the Sankaracharya of Saradapitha and with determination, siezed the leader, Kichlew and shoved him into the prison. X X X. It seems these persons were arrested, as they had resolved that the soldiders of the Government should resign their places.

Pages 53 & 54.

When Andhraratna Duggirala Gopalakrishanayya had been served with a notice under section 144 at Berhampore, he sent a telegram to the Collector saying, I shall certainly hold the meeting even to-morrow; your order cannot be an obstacle to me. You had better then do what you can' Well done! X X X They (the Congress Committee) resolved that what they (the Ali brothers) had done (namely asking the soldiers to resign their places) should be accomplished by the people of all villages, and that hand bills should be written accordingly and published. The people have been acting in consonance with it, throughout the country. O,

O, people! Can you not be without touching the cloth made in alien countries? Can it be righteousness? O, sons of India! Can you not wear only the cloth made by (the yarn of) the spinning-wheel to win independence? O, Indians! Is it a burden to you to turn the spinning-wheel to remove servitude? O, Aryans! Can you not purchase the swadesi cloth to protect your honour? God Gandhi says, that this is not a great task, and that, if you accomplish this, swaraj will draw near. Have you no faith in it? Why hesitate. Fulfil this! and in three months, India will obtain liberation and attain swaraj, and that all the restraints of those who are fettered to-day will be broken off. X X X.

Section 144. Those against whom this was employed are forbidden to step into certain specified areas and deliver lectures there. This is used against low fellows for offences like rioting and absconding.

B. Somasundara Rao, 22-4-23,
Acting Telugu Translator to Government

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(2) It narrates in the easiest and most popular style all the details connected with what the author calls the Punjab Murders? It is a most exaggerated inaccurate account of the Punjab disturbances which will seriously prejudice the popular mind against the constitutional Government established by law in British India. It provokes religious rancour, race-hatred and a spirit of deep disloyalty and intense hatred against the Government. The tone and contents of the book are highly objectionable and seditious?.

PANJABU PATA (THE SONG OF THE PANJAB):

Page 1.

O Mother India! While it has dawned all the world over, why should there be darkness in you? Why alms for you who gave charity to all countries? You are the mother of all heroes, why should you have beatings for nothing? X X X (The mother appears) The loving mother had the globe in her stomach and with her eyes gently sprinkled prosperity here and there.

Page 2.

The Moslem token placed on the head shone glitteringly in all the quarters of the earth. The god of the cobras tied round the waist is hissing in splendour. With tears I had washed the feet of the mother, and with my mind worshipped her. Then Mother India smilingly said to me:- When it has dawned throughout the world, it is I that have swallowed the darkness. I alone am the darkness. I alone am the energy. I alone am the wife of god Siva. None can know me. They call me darkness. None can know me. They call me Kali. I am beyond the reach of guesses and artifices. Perceive me to be knowledge, I am illusion; know well that I am the full moon-light to devotees. Know me soon to be Durga (the wife of Siva the god of destruction) for the wicked. I gave alms to all countries and shone forth with lustre. Today, I have the mind to beg for alms myself. The supreme Lord Siva has held in his hand a bowl for alms. The lord of the world did so to find out the charity of the world. O, hero of India! Know what is excellent. O, my child!

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Be not afraid. O, my child! Do not pine away in the thought, that you have suffered from the bullet-shots! O, my child! Do not grieve saying, that you have had confusion. O, my child! Do not get frightened saying, that you have run violently. Do not grieve that the people will make fun of you. O, best of Indian poets(. Be not off your guard. Never mind. I have conducted myself like this now to the astonishment of all, in order to show the strength which surpasses bruteforce. I acted as if I had suffered beatings for nothing. The children of heroes are not timid, and it is not right for them to weep. Where is the harm to the mother of heroes? Know without fear. Can there be fear for the wife of the supreme Soul (god Siva) who had swallowed poison.

Page 4.

Is the cannon a thing to be cared for by the wife of him (Siva), who has flame in his eyes? Is endurance, wanting in the wife of one, who is adorned with cobras? O, my child! Tell my story to others with warm emotion and heroic sentiment . Sing the song of the Punjab murders, so that the people may praise (you), and their bodies may throb and a taste (for it) is born in them, so that the sons of India may be in ecstacy and life may come to them again; and so that the departed heroes and ancestors who have gone to Heaven may now come here! Sing the song well, so that the sun in the west may rise in the east! Mother India, my mother who makes her milk flow asks (me) to sing. She asks me to speak about the agitation in the Punjab, so that the people of the earth may applaud it. She asks me to sing the song of agitation in the Punjab so that the gods in Heaven may commend. It is for this, that I think of the goddess Saraswati in (my) mind.

Page 5.

The land of the Aryans is the place of valour. In it, the Punjab has (earned) a name. The Punjab is named the land of manliness. There, even the little infants are indeed lions in the theatre of war. When thealiens

had come as dacoits (to rob) mother India of her prosperity and fortune, the heroes of the Punjab gave them dinners (lit. feats) and served them with sharp swords. This is the home, the renowned home, the capital home, where god Nanak who inspired the Sikh devotees, had been brought up. Well done!. Bravo! This is the home where Guru Govind who made his Sikh followers into Singhs had been born and brought up. It is a fort which has not been laid out. Amritsar, the holy place of the Sikh heroes, is the principal spot in it. It has a golden temple. It is a very good town, a mighty place indeed. It was the royal city of Ranjit Singh. It surpasses in elegance. Do you not know the most important place, Amritsar? The

Page 6.

awful murders, which took place there, would frighten the hearts of the pèople. The acts of violence, which had been committed there, opened the eyes of our own mother. The very sacrifice of the lives of the Indian heroes took place there well. The hearing of it will cleanse the soul. You had better all listen to it. The smoke of sin will be scattered. You had better hear it completely. You had better listen to the discourse which will make the door of liberation appear to your eyes. Who isthe present ruler of that place? He is frightening and prattling. Michael O'Dwyer is a fradulent fellow, a deceiver,. He is a devotee of brute-force. He is becoming mighty as a murderer. (This) sinner gets up in the morning and prosprates himself before the god of cannon. The murderer Michael O'Dwyer, says that the god of cannon alone is the God. The atheist Michael O'Dwyer, will not applaud another god in his mind. He is an atheist. He has always thought of us as thirty crores of lumps of dhall (i.e. worthless fellows) He laughed at us saying, that we were blinded with soul-force. He has always laughed at us saying, that the thirty crores of Hindus who are cowards will run away when the cannon-god says, Dham (i.i. when the cannon goes Bang) Michael

O&Dwyer is a fellow of evil ways. He has indulged himself in ever so much boasting. He made a horse of the whole of the Punjab, and said he would ride on it. He said that the Punjab was his life, and he would rule it. He patted most gently the fine horse of the Punjab.

Page 7.

He ran his fingers smoothly through the ~~hair~~ mane on its back, and spoke festive words. He said th t it was a good horse, and spoke many words. The fradulent Michael O'Dwyer applauded it and said, It is fine. He had held the bridle of the horse, got upon it and changed all his words (lit. messages). He took the whip and thrashed it to death, without any hesitation. He thrashed the horse without compassion, so much so that it vomitted froth! The horse of the Punjab ran without looking at the hills and gorges. It did not see the thorny hedges. It did not look before or behind. X X X Michael O'Dwyer called the educated persons cowards, and the uneducated men warriors, without any hesitation. Without feeling accursed, he called the educated persons, enemies; and the uneducated men, friends; and rejoiced at it! Michael O'Dwyer divided the people of the whole Punjab into two parties, and made them quarrel with each other. Michael O'Swyer stirred up anger between the two parties. What else did this exceedingly great man say? He said that the educated persons alone are seditionists, and they should be punished, that there should be a law for them, that they should be kept down; and that he would squeeze their wind-pipes! This great braggart said that he would suppress the printing presses.

Page 8

Asking the people to get money for the war, he did many pompous things. He asked the people to become sepoys for the war and put much fear into them. He t us frightened the people very much in all ways. Michael O'Dwyer said that he would kikk, if any person should move tongue. He cried out 'silence', if any one's lip was moved.

(His) insolence gad greatly increased. The base wretch O'Dwyer said he would imprison any man whose leg had moved He said 'Look, I will impose a fine of a thousand rupees, if your finger is moved! O god Rama! O god Rama! He said that the Rowlatt Act was ready. He had held the Rowlatt Act in his hand and became a demon. X X X. A fourth part (of the essence) of Kalki (the last incarnation of god) Vishnu has merged in Gandhi. The saint Gandhi said, that he would utter only one souund, which is contained in the sacred syllable 'OM'. He said O Lord O Lord! And announced a hartal on the 6th April. He said that on that day, we

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would all become one. Let the Rowlatt Act, the demoniacal Act, come upon us. From the fear for it, we will draw near; and rightness will be set up again. The Turkish Empire has been broken to pieces. There is the dawn for Asia. The Muhammadan infants will open their eyes and it has dawned in the East. We proclaim by beat of drum, that the Hindus and the Muslims are near relatives. X X X The thirty crores of Moslems and Hindus are never-failing relatives. The Muhammadans and the Hindus say, that they have laid down on the sand cot. The exalted personage, the hermit Gandhi, has asked us to weep wherever we look at. The exalted personage, Gandhi, has asked us to weep making a very great noise. He said 'know well that the honour of India is gone. Know well that the Rowlatt Act has taken away her honour. Become polluted, set up a howl and creat confusion. Fast well. Let the young, the old and even the child in the womb scream. You should wail, as did Gajendra of that day! O! Refuge of the miserable! There is no protection. You alone are the refuge, come. O, destroyer of demons! There is no way. You alone are the way, come.

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O, god who lies on the serpant, there is no strength in us! You alone are our strength, come! O, god who is brilliant as a crore of suns we are at our last gasp. O, father

Come. It is by wailing alone, that we will become one. Wailing is good now. It is by wailing alone, that we will become united. Wailing will bring love in its train. It is through hardships alone, that we will become united together. Hardships will bring love in their train. It is through afflictions alone that we can become relatives. Afflictions are very good. Who will look at us, if we do not weep. We should weep. The Rowlatt Act is harmful to us, and should now be repealed. The Rowlatt Act has brought a stain for us, and should be repealed this day. Alas! Alas! We are the Indian heroes, who have shed blood with devotion to our king. We are the Indian heroes, who have loyally extended protection (to others) The Rowlatt Act which is imposed on us is sinful. We cannot bear it. We cannot bear it. We cannot bear it.
If it is not (repealed), we will have no peace and no sleep. So said the saint Gandhi. On the 6th April, a hartal was observed in all the towns, when the people cried out, O Lord! O Lord! Allah! A hartal was observed throughout India on that day.

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The Hindus and the Muhammadans marched out along the streets. There was the worship of God in every temple of India. There was divine service in all the mosques of our country. The thirty crores of people closed all the shops. The thirty crores of people roamed about (the streets) crying out 'O God! O God! Allah! They said, If there is God, will He not listen to our lamentations?' The hartal of the 6th April went off calmly and peacefully. Not even an ant died. There was no disagreeableness at all. Not even a mosquito was crushed. There was not the least forwardness (among the people). The form of love alone prevailed in mother India at that time. The Hindus and the Muhammadans embraced each other, and spoke friendly words at that time. Love flowed from them in a stream, and they sprinkled it on that day. The Sri Rama Navami festival came off and removed all their

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anxieties. The 9th of April had come and exhorted all the people, that there was but one God, whether he was called Rama or Rahim. On the festive day, the Hindus and the

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Muhammadans had become united and had (common) banquets. They exchanged betel leaves and nuts among themselves. They applauded each other, and had looks of love on that meritorious day. They had become brothers, and feasted their eyes on it. All had bliss on that day. But to one man it was an eye-sore (lit. chillis-powder in the eye). Who was he? To one man, it was the burning of the eye. Who was he? To whom was it a trouble, if the Hindus and the Muhammadans had become one? I will tell you who he was. He was Michael O'Dwyer, the Governer Michael, the ruler of the Punjab. Michael O'Dwyer is a man of evil ways, and is a great braggart. He saw here and there, gnashed his teeth, so as to produce a crashing sound, grew irritated , saw the heavens and the earth and reddened his eyes. He thought, as to who was the cause of the Hindus and the Muhammadans becoming united; and considered, that he should suppress their insolence. Saying, 'Who is he, Who is he', he sent spies in all directions to find out who it was. The crow brought the news, that it was Dr.Kichlew and Satyapal. He pawed the ground and struck his shoulder (lit. hand). Michael's face became inflamed (with wrath).

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He trimmed his pointed whiskers and cast a side-long glance. What did he then deliberate with his keen sight? What great tumult ~~willxax~~ take place, if the Hindus and the Muhammadans unite together. If the 30 crores of Hindus and Muhammadans become one, the whitemen alone should somehow get out of India. Thus did Michael O'Dwyer reflect; perhaps Michael O'Dwyer is a man of evil ways and is very arrogant. He shook his head and beheld the ground. He started and became active. Michael O'Dwyer gave orders for the enforcement of the regulation 13.

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The soldiers held drawn swords in their hands and gaily came in motor cars much to the displeasure of the people. They besieged on all sides like the forest fire. Dr. Kichlew and Satya Pal were bound down. The sons, are the mass of fortune for mother India. Dr. Kichlew and Pal are the darling children of mother India. Dr. Kichlew and Pal are the heroic sons of Mother India. They, the embodiments of immense peace, have been employed on a motor car. The eclipses of the sun and the moon took place at one and the same time. There was thick darkness on the earth. Darkness 'rained' on the faces of all the people at Amritsar.

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A cloud has spread over the whole world, and grief then 'rained'. The news of the grief 'gleamed' in all the quarters of the earth as a flash of lightning. Tears flowed in a stream. There were tempests in the heart. Disaster has increased. The planets moved out of their orbits. The people had a bath on account of the eclipse, in 24 minutes. All the people of Amritsar took a forward step. The people had removed the turbans on their heads and the shoes on their feet and walked along. The people were dejected and moved on saying, 'Complain to the Commissioner'. A wall of soldiers with drawn swords stood as a great obstacle. A guard was kept round the bungalow of the Commissioner. What do those who were wailing say to the sentry? 'We have to make a complaint. Where is the dorai'? What do the men of the guard say with wrath to the people? 'There is neither complaint, nor anything else. The lord will not speak now'. What do the people there, who were panting say to it? 'A sinful act has been committed, and we should make a request'. 'There are neither requests, nor words, nor anything else. Go back. ~~If you persist, your lives will 'fly'~~. He will not speak with you. This is not the time for it. Go back. If you persist, your lives will 'fly' away from you; get along, don't stand'. What did the people then stubbornly say. 'What is the use of our lives, when our staunch friends

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have been bound down? What is the use of our existence, when our

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intimate friends are in prison? We will not live for all time. What is eternal? Those that are born will indeed die. No matter what may happen. Why do you fear, push aside the guard and get in'. The people joined together, pushed aside and broke into the guard. What do the sentry thensay in anger? They say 'Why such insolence for the people, and why such rashness?' The dear sepoys then aimed their guns at the people!. All the guns went bang, bang, The hearts of the people shuddered. The despondent people dropped down to the ground, which had become gory with blood. Their comrades lifted up the people who had dropped down, and hastily carried them home weeping and while being trodden upon. 'O god Rama! O, god Rama! The holy blood drenched the whole earth. Alas! It gave birth to confusion and uproar among the people. The people, seen nowhere else, all crowded together in one place. What do the people say, weeping? 'Alas! Alas! They have unjustly killed our brethren.' They held lathis in their hands. They took stones in their hands. Alas! Alas! They set out as Rama's host to make war. The elders of the town met together and deeply considered the matter. x x x

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Some of the people were unable to stop, and they threw stones at them. The oblation for the flame of the 'burning' soldier has become the greater. All the guns went bang. The bullet exploded. Unable to turn back, twenty men there leant onx one side. The wind blew and made known the cry, 'Victory to the Hindus and the Muhammadans'. O, god Rama! O, god Rama! Mr. Makbur Muhammad, a pleader of the town brought men, to take the wounded to the hospital. The pleader an excellent man, had stretchers brought there. The white officer saw it, and his eyes reddened. Listen to what he says to the arrangements thus made. 'Why the men? Why the stretchers? Why carry them? Why bandages? Why they be laid? Let them go (die), if they do? The men whose fate it is has befallen him. They

fell upon them'. The man drove away the people who had come saying, 'Go, ye; go, ye'. What pity! What mercy! We were not aware of them anywhere. Though wounded man is an enemy, he should be bandaged.'

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Who is the enemy that does not help when one is wounded? In no country are we aware of such a duty. Till at last, they brought with difficulty those who had dropped down on the ground, to the house of Dr. Kedarnath. Mukbur Muhammad brought them with love. There was a gosha hospital by the side of the house of Kedarnath. Mrs. Easton, who was there, looked at them and spoke. She saw the wounded with her eyes and spoke without remaining quiet, "This is just the punishment for the Hindus and the Muhammadans. They must have such chastisement. They have been punished in the proper manner. A great good has been done on the earth". The European lady saw the people who had fallen, and burst out laughing, What did the people, who were there at the time say within themselves? "The European lady, who had an outburst of laughter should be caught hold of and taught a lesson". Some people got enraged and rushed into the gosha hospital. The lady had fled away and hid her life in the west. The town had indeed been in a stir by that time. Grief and anger 'entwined' the World. The people were seething (with indignation). What do the 'seething' towns-men say, to themselves. 'They have bound down, beaten and abused us. How are we to live? Excesses have increased. When will they end? We are not able to do anything. How are we to live? If we talk loudly, they will beat and throttle us. We have worked with the sweat of our brow for them, and have become lean. How much blood did we shed for them, but the other day, on the field of battle of the French! We have shed it in Belgium and Persia, and on the battle field of Egypt. We have shed blood, we have given away ever so many lives for their protection, so as to make it flow in streams for their protection. We have suffered ever so many hardships for their sake. We brought and gave kingdoms to them and become

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slaves. For (mere) cooly, we gave away our lives and have killed our brethren. We looted all the countries and gave the plunder to them. They do not consider at all, that they have carried away our dear brethren. If we ask for the reason why, they say, 'do you oppose us'? When we ask for the reason, why, they say, 'are you arrogant'? When we ask for the reason, why, they say 'Lo, here are the guns'. What duty! What justice! How are we to live? We shall die, if it comes to that; we shall pass away, if it comes to that! For one death, there is yet another death. We shall die, if it comes to that; we shall pass away, if it comes to that! Our ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ name must remain on the earth. We shall die, if it comes to that; we shall pass away, if it comes to that! Our reputation must remain on the earth. If we are silent for all times, who will relieve us of our hardships? If we do not show our heart-burning, who will look at us in the world? The hardships of India should resound in all countries".

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They became mad, forgot themselves and spoke in a thousand ways. All the young men fell upon (lit. leapt over) the town. They attacked the bank and set fire to it. Alas! They killed the white men in it! They set fire to the post-office. They had lost their senses. They consigned the town-hall to flames, through malignity. They burnt down the railway goods-shed. Even the whitemen had felt confused and got terrified. The crow went and told the news. It created heart-burning. The dorai, Michael, burned with indignation and forgot himself. He gave over the whole city of Amritsar to the military. Michael O'Dwyer is a man of evil ways, a great braggart. General Dyer arrived with battalions1 General ~~Ddx~~ Dyer, the human tiger of a Dyer, is a log of wood which swallows up men. He said, 'arrest, arrest the men here, and the men there'. He subjected the men here, and the men there, to afflictions in the prison. He stationed the sepoys in every lane. He stationed the awful-looking soldiers in every alley. Wherever we looked at, he made drawn swords

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gleam brilliantly. The whole town was in dead silence. The noise of the people ceased. The flames of rage were extinguished; and a cool wind blew.

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Alas! The people who knew not untruth or hypocrisy were vexed. Alas! What did the people of the town then desire the General to do. They should properly perform the funeral rites for the dead. They must gently carry the dead, singing songs of praise. What does General Dyre then say? 'Not more than four should go with a corpse. There must be no noise. You should go properly without making even the least noise. When the leaders of the town had besought General Dyer, we do not know what he thought and deliberated. At last, he gave the orders. The man General Dyer entertained some thought. 'Why should there be anger for slaves? They have become arrogant. Do you encounter us derais? And do you mob us? Do you say anytxxx thing in return for what the white men have done, and fall upon us? When we derais beat (you), do you think of striking us in return? What should be done, so that they might have sense at any time? Shall I gather together the people of the town at one place, and fire at them in succession? When will you have sense? Will you not fallx upon us? Will you not hold a meeting any more? Will you not belong to a meeting any longer? Will you keep aside, without-speaking in return and opposing us?' So thought General Dyer, the smiter of the people.

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Hansraj has joined the secret emissaries. He is a traitor. He whispered, that he would gather together the people of the town at one place. Hansraj is the king of torments. He laid down such a plan as this. Hansraj is a low-fellow. He devised such a plan. He did not doubt. He did not feel ashamed. He laid down many a plan. He was not aware as to who his parents were. He was not aware that the country was his. He was a sinner who, for money would x 'pluck out' the heads of his parents.

If he was given money, he would not dread to do harm to his brothers. He will not hesitate to take away the honour of the country for the sake of money. He was a supremely mean fellow, a sinner, who became a companion (to Dyre) here. This fellow became a companion to the General to ruin the country. The murderer considered as to who the principal person of the town was. He thought of issuing a notice in the name of him, who was the chief man in the town. He said that it was Kanya Lal. Kanya Lal was seventy years old; and he was a great pleader in the town. He was most respectable and honourable. All listened to his word. He printed the notice of a meeting in his (Kanya Lal's) name. Alas! He knew absolutely nothing about this matter. The people should be present on the 13th April at 5 P.M. A notice was published, that at Jallianwall Bagh in the evening the honourable Kanya Lal would speak good words to all the people.

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He struck notices and distributed them in the town. Hansraj was a low fellow and he contemplated harm. It was the new year's festival when all were joyful. All the people there called it 'Visakhi'. All the relatives round about came to see the spectacle. All the people of the villages came there rejoicing. They were eager to see what the marvel in the Jallianwalla Bagh was. Thousands of people gathered together and came to see the spectacle. Crowds after crowds of people came there carrying their infants and children. They put on a gala appearance, and wore the garland of laughter. The innocent and the 'disinclined' had all assembled together and made a buzz. Without knowing the trick, they came in a very dense crowd. An aeroplane then moved along the sky. The people saw it and were exceedingly frightened. What does Hansraj then say? 'You need not be terror-stricken. You need not go. There is no harm. You need not be panick-stricken. You need not go. There is no fear of that.' He had joined the secret emissaries, and whispered a good deal. That mean fellow spoke something. I knew not what. General Dyer lay in wait for a fine opportunity.

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The traitor, the king of torments, had created a fine opportunity.

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What did General Dyer then think? All people including children have assembled there. I have got a very good opportunity'. He said 'I should go softly and swallow them up, with the mouth of the cannon'. General Dyer, the human tiger of a Dyre, is a sinful dog. Twenty-five Sikhs and twenty-five Gurkhas had formed a line and marched along. They held rifles. They had stony hearts. They marched out with joy. Forty Gurkhas of cruel action held the Kukkees. They were ninety all told; and they gathered together to take away the lives of their comrades. O god, Rama! O, god Rama! What a sin! What a treachery! What shall I say! Two armoured cars containing cannon arrived. Along with them, came Dyer, the murderer. The way was too narrow for the cars containing cannon to go in. Even the way had kindness; but the dorai had not any. O, you people! Hear how the Jallianwalla Bagh was. It was like a trap with a compound wall going right round. The people were caught in the trap. There was but one way (in), and that too was very narrow. There were five more narrow ways here and there. The car could not get into the existing way. Dyer was sorry for it. After thinking over it, he kept the armoured car outside to inspire fear (among the people).

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If the armoured car itself had come inside, we do not know what his desire would have been. With ninety sepoys walking along with him, Dyer rushed into the Bagh. General Dyer walked violently with pride. He did not consider even for thirty seconds. He did not tell the people beforehand He did not know what he thought in his mind, as a good idea. 'The blood of the slave is cheap. It should drench the ground well. The more it is drenched, the better. Who will question?' He lifted up his eye and thought (so) through arrogance. He rained a series of bullets on the people them-

selves so as to produce a rumbling noise. He flung a series of bullets at the people who were running away. Without thinking it a sin, he spread a series of bullets over the people who were lying down. He rained a series of bullets thrice number on the people who had crowded there. He beat the young, he beat the old people, and he beat the little children. The harsh dorai had the persons, caught in the narrow ways, shot down. The sinful dog (Dyer) let go a thousand and six hundred bullets. Our people dropped down even for a thousand bullets. The Jallianwalla Bagh was drenched with blood. O, god Rama! O, god Rama! The Jallianwalla Bagh produced that day heaps of cropses. Dyer thus gave away the helpless people to the dogs. Dyer gave away our helpless brethren to jackals. The hard-hearted fellow (Dyer) would not think of bandage or medicine for them.

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While they bewailed thus, what a wicked fellow he was! What can I say! The sun went down the wester ocean. The sun hid itself in the west to have a bath after defilement. General Dyer went on with the joy seen nowhere. O, god Rama! O, god Rama! General Dyer then gave a strict order, that none should come out after eight o' clock. He said that, if any person should come out, their lives would not be saved, but would be sacrificed. General Dyer, the human tiger of a Dyer, is a servant of Hell (lit. the city of the lord of death). Ratna Devi came in search of her husband, who was dearer than her life. She would not be afraid of anything, though it was night. Among the chaste and virtuous wives, her name along should be mentioned. She came by herself to the fearful Bagh in the night. The dying heroes were saying, 'Alas! Ah! Alack! Ha!' They say 'Alack! Ha! ' Victory to the Hindus and the Musalmans! Some rolled on the earth and struggled (in deep anguish). They lady had searched for her husband among the cropses and took him up. Some persons groaned by (her) side and said * 'We do not know who you are! Madam! Give us water!' The brave lady brought water and gave it to them.

* We thirst! They were tormented by their legs being caught in the fissures of the wall. O! mother! you are some fortunate lady!

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She called out 'Sir' to carry the corpse of her husband. Whoever was called, none would come out. It was past eight o' clock. All through the night, Ratnadevi guarded her husband, stood alone by his side, drove off the dogs and jackals from him, thought of mother India, and reflected on the God Who is above. She lifted up her hands and pronounced a curse; and tears flowed down from her eyes. Who knows what the curse was? Who has heard it? The day dawned. The whitemen gathered together at the Kothwal portico. They were frightened and sent for the leaders of the town. What did General Dyer then say? 'We want peace. We want war. We are prepared for anything. Will we, who were able to beat Germany, care for you? The educated men among you have entered into the German conspiracy. Do you talk of sedition, without knowing yourselves? You do not listen to our words. Do you want punishment? I have 30 years' service. I will not look at this side or that. I will drive cannon-balls into your flanks, until you preserve peace. Without moving your lips and uttering harsh words, open the shops. You have killed the white men. Do we remain quiet? We will wreak our grudge against you from generation to generation'. The whitemen employed force in this manner to satisfy their revengeful spite.

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Alas! Alas! They had arrested and brought, they had beaten and brought, the leaders of the town! They concocted false evidence, by the use of force and intimidation. General Dyer piled up false evidence in a strange manner. Whoever he might be that went along the road of Mrs. Sherwood in the heart of the town, could not fail to meet with dishonour and disgrace. They should crawl along the ground, rub their noses on the earth and receive many a kick. The deceitful and demonical soldiers spoiled all the wells there. The soldiers ate up the pigeons of the temples there. Ha! Ha! They had brought the suspected persons and beat them there. Ha! Ha! They had tied them to the triangle and beat

them. The sound of the weeping of the people had reached the skies, and the children got frightened. Alas! Alas! It broke the hearts of some children, who dropped down to the ground. They called out the leaders, made them stand, and said, 'The same to you! if you do not give ear to the words spoken to you, you will have such punishment as this'. They had put out the electric lights, and tormented the people in darkness. They had cut off the water-supply through pipes, and made their throats dry. When the marriage party had marched out in procession in the town, they put them in jail. They had kept them in iron-cages, and used great force. The tumult had spread through the Punjab, and there was a mighty confusion, There was a great ebulition of feeling among all the people of every village. The educated persons had been cheated, and they underwent many afflictions. The uneducated people had suffered much grief and there were many deaths,

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among them. The students suffered agoniesx, and they had a thousand afflictions. They made students walk miles after miles in the sun. Thrice they made them say 'salaam to the Union Jack'. A seven-year old boy suddenly fell down as a result of sun stroke. If any person did not bow to the white men they took them away. They had seized the graduates, and made them say 'salaam' to them. While the howl of the people has reached the heavens, who is it that rules? There was now not one to hear. There was no refuge or protection. Our people had low spirits, as if God had closed His eyes. O, god Rama! O, god Rama! O, god Rama! O, god Rama! O, god Rama! O, god Raghu Rama! Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, was in Delhi. <u>Tassa goyya (lit. cut the proud flesh)</u>. He would not come to the Punjab and hear the complaints of the people. He would not xxxx hear the howl, would not say that it should not be done, and would not move; but was stubborn. He would not care for the dead. He would not say how many they were. He would not listen. He would not enquire. He was feeding fat

(lit. grazing), on banquets. The revered Malavya is a good man. He put very fine questions. He stood up as the refuge of the wretched who were devoid of a protector. He had brought out the whole sin and exposed it. He had sent the news to England, and brought out a committee. The Hunter Committee had arrived and began its work. The members of the committee deliberated for six months. Montagu, the Minister of dull intellect, had reflected for six months, scolded these men and those, and tried to do away with the affair. He looked for a convenient opportunity and indulged himself in a vain talking. He said 'Here is the gossip of the Reforms. Who wants the gossip of the Reforms? Well?' The white men had brought and given gifts to Dyer and were blest. All the white folks made it known, that the work which had been done was good. What do (the people say) as to its root (cause). Their righteousness has been understood. The poisonous tree had grown, and there was enemity between race and race. The poisonous tree grew, and the branches spread. There will always be, deceit till the root is cut. I will tell you how the poisonous tree grew. Listen! Mr. Curzon prepared the garden bed with anger. Mr. Minto put manure into it with impetuosity. Mr. Hardinge turned his eyes round and round and removed the weeds from it. Mr. Chelamayya (Lord Chelmsford) planted the seed in it at a most opportune time. O'Dwyer watered it as he could think of (lit. as it came to his mouth). The man of dull intellect, Mr. Montague, blew the wind of flames on it and let it grow. The tree rose and the branches grew. It yielded poisonous flowers and fruit. Unaware of the disaster the king of kings asks (us) to come under the tree.

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He says that it is cool, and asks us to come into the shade of the tree. He says 'Let us, the white and black, enjoy the coolness'. He says 'let us, the white and the black, remain united'. What is the good? What does it profit? They do not believe each other. So long as they

are the lords and we are the slaves, just so long will we and they not trust each other. What righteous words did Lloyd George utter formerly! What moral truths did he say as to why they should wage war! President Wilson talked big of morality and made an uproar. What has become of all those duties? Have they sunk down to the bottom of the earth? He said, that they should rule, among themselves, all the countries. What has become of all the duties? Have they fallen down to the ground? Has the League of Nations become a big crowd of thieves? Are those who are here wild men? When will they yet be worthy? When will be yet have the kingdom? We do not know how many days hence. It is an empty word. It is a pretentious word. Know the way. The poisonous tree has overspread (the earth), and its branches have touched (the ground). How can there be a talk in the shade? How can we sit down there without bashfulness or shame? What does the meditative Gandhi softly say in reply to it? The poisonous tree should be turned into ashes and we must drink the poison, if we drink the poison. We will have strange peace. Look at it, without calling it a wonder. I will hold Satyagraha in my hand and will fill (the world) with peace. I will beat the goddess of death till she swoons and will bring salvation to you here. See the wonder of it. The land of India will drink poison. Behold, I will drink poison. Look at the way of god Siva. Prahlada is an Indian. You had better see it well. Members, like Spoor', call came here to see it. Twenty-two thousand people had arrived at Nagpur and passed a resolution. He said that we should bind ourselves together. ~~xx~~ Withdraw (lit. pull in) all co-operation with the Satanic Government. Stop the slavish education and form a compact. Cause ruin to the sinful courts and be persistent. Do not 'go near' the treachery of the police to the country. Desist from the sin of the military to the country. Do not think of the sin affecting mother India. We are all brothers. Do not entertain harm. It is not anger or hatred. We will not commit sin. If we

all become one, who will beat us? We had thought of binding the whole world with the cords of love. Do not beat. Do not abuse. Bind (it) with the cords of love. Do not beat. Do not abuse.

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Be persistent with love. God came down to the world to establish righteousness on the earth. <u>The meditative Gandhi was born as the incarnation of Siva (the god of destruction)</u>, and as the embodiment of knowledge. The contemplative Gandhi, the seer, was born of the essence of God Siva. He is Veerabhogavasantarayudu (the establisher of righteousness and justice in the Golden Age). He is the personification of righteous and heroic love. He is god Kalki, the pure figure the first essence of Kalki. He is now reflected in every heart. Satyagraha is the arrow of god Siva. Look, he holds it in his hand. Veerabhadra was born on the earth as the hero, Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali is the leader of the attendants of god Siva. He is the lord of the multitute. Tilak was born of the essence of god Vishnu. Is he a mere human being? Aravinda Ghose is god Brahma. He has been reciting the Vedas. You, the sons of Mother India, have become the dieties. The sages have all become poets. Know it for certain. The codifiers of the Hindu Law are the editors. Know this wonder. This day there is a fight between brute-force and soul-power. Know well that the soul-power is of our Aryans. Know well, that all the brute force belongs to the Westerners. India is the land of action. <u>Here will the war take place</u>. What a wonder is the sport of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. Behold it here. The Sacred Bharatham is the sixth Veda. Know the object of life- Heaven is for those who have heard the song of the Punjab. Hear it with delight. Heaven is for those who have read the song. Read it well. <u>Sins will perish</u>, if the songs of the Indian Heroes are sung. The voice of my throat resounds in all the quarters of the earth and reaches the sky. This dyxx story will become yet more eternal, and will shine forth

here on the earth. O, mother! Peace be to you! Peace be to you! Victory, Victory, to you! O, mother! Victory shall be your portion! Good fortune to you! O, mother! O, sarvamangala (the wife of god Siva)! Good fortune to you! Peace! Peace! Peace be to the world!

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S & Khilafat Movement 1920

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

("The Vanguard" - English newspaper - Forfeiture - ordered

REFERENCE: G.O.No.478 (Ordinary) dated 16-6-1923:Public Departmen

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Government of Madras declared proscribed the issue No.6 of Volume II of "The Vanguard" dated 1st May ~~19123~~ 1923.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S. & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature '23

Abstract of the G.O.

("News Service " - English paper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

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REFERENCE: G.O.No.520 (Ordinary) dated 6-7-1923: Public Department

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Government of Madras declared forfeited all copies of the paper called "News Service" issued by the International Working Men's Association, Berlin.

1280 259-

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S. Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature '23

Abstract of the G.O.

("International Press Correspondence"and"Hind" -
Forfeiture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.522 (Ordinary) dated 7-7-1923:Public Department.

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Government of Madras declared forfeited issue No.36(18) of Volume 3 of "International Press Correspondence" and No.19 of Volume 3 of "Hind" the former printed in Berlin and the latter published from England.

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131 2615

EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature - '23

Abstract of the G.O.

("The Vanguard" - English Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.528 (Ordinary), dated 9-7-1923: Public Department.

Government of Madras declared forfeited the i sue No.7 of Volume II of the English Newspaper entitled "The Vanguard" printed in Dublin.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C. & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

~~ThexGxxxxxx~~ ("One year of Non-co-operation" - Proscribed).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.556 (Confidential) dated 19-7-1923.Public Dept.

The Government of Madras proscribed the book entitled "One Year of Non-co-operation" by M.N.Roy under section 99A C.P.C.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO & Khilafat Movement (1920-23)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A - Proscribed.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.557(Ordinary)Dated 19-7-1923, Public Dept.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George, July 19,1923 (G.O.No. 557,Public)

No. 249 - In exercise of the powers conferred on him by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeitedx to His Majesty all copies whereever found of the following publications in English:-

(1) The Indian Independence (printed at Berlin,)Vol.I No.4.

(2) International Press Correspondence (printed at Berlin) Vol.3, No. 34(16), dated 26th April 1923, and

(3) International Press Correspondence (printed at Berlin), Vol. 3 No. 35(17), dated the 3rd May 1923,

and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from any of the above said publications inasmuch as xxx they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

E.S.Lloyd,

Acting Chief Secretary.

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Extracts from the G.O.s relating to N.C.O. & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN the Madras Presidency. Proscribed Literature '23.

Abstract of the G.O.

("The Vanguard"--English newspaper--Forfeiture--Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.604:(Ordinary),dated 1-8-1923:Public Department

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Government of Madras declared forfeited the issue No.8 of Volume II of "Vanguard" dated 1st June 1923.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO + Khilafat Movement (1920-25)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A .- Proscribed.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.608(Ordinary)dated 3-8-1923, Public Dept.

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NOTIFICATION.

Fort Saint George, Ausgust 3,1923, (G.O.Mis.No.608,Public)

No. 262 - In exercise of the powers conferred by the section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies whereever found of the following publications:-

(1) Hind, the Indian Organ in Europe and America, Volume 2, No. 22, dated London, 8th June 1923;

(2) International Press Correspondence (printed in Berlin) Volume 3 No.42,(24) dated the 11th June 1923(special Number) and No.43(25) dated the 14th June 1923;

(3) Workers' Dreadnought printed by the Agenda Press, Limited Loneon, Volume X, No. 13, dated the 16th June 1923; and

(4) Correspondence of the Young International for the month of June 1923, Volume III, No.6 printed and published at Berlin, and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from any of the above publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

E.S.LLOYD,

Acting Cheif Secretary.

136 Non-co-operation and Khilafat Movement (1920-25)
Proscribed Literature (1923)

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code Section 99-A - Proscribed.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.616(Ordinary)dated 7-8-1923, Public Dept.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George, August 7,1923(G.O.Mis.No.616,Public)

No-275-- In Exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies whereever found of the following publications:-

(1) International press Correspondence printed at Berlin Volume III, issues No.38(20)dated the 18th May 1923(special number) No.39(21) dated the 24th May 1923, No.40(22) dated the 31st May 1923, No. 41(23) and dated the 7th June 1923;

(2) Workers' Dreadnought, printed by the Agenda Press Ltd., London, Volume X issues No.10 dated the 26th May 1923 and No.11 dated the 2nd June 1923; and

(3) The Vanguard Central Organ communist Party of India (Sec. Communist International) printed by the Emerald Press Dublin, Ireland, Volume II, issue No. 9 dated the 15th June 1923;

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO + Khilafat Movement (1920-25)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Books and Publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A - Proscribed.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.621,(Ordinary) dated 8-8-1923, public (Mis)Dept.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George, August 8,1923(G.O.Mis. No.621, Public)

No.277- In ex rcise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies wherever found of the following publications:-

(1) The Vanguard, Central Organ Communist Party of India (Sec. Communist International), dated the 1st July 1923, Volume II, No. 10, printed by the Emerald Press, Dublin Ireland; and

(2) Hind the Indian Organ in Europe and America, dated London, 22nd June 1923, Volume II, No. 23;

and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from any of the above and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from any of the above publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

E.S.LLOYD,

Acting Cheif Secretary.

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation movement proscribed literature: Telugu books (1923) 1920-1922

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28.

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"MALAPALLE OR SANGA VIJAYAM" 138

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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled Malapalle or Sanga Vijayam, a novel by Unnava Lakshminaryayana, Guntur.

G.O. NO. 620, dated 8-8-1923;

The G.O. contains neither extracts from nor summary of the contents of the work. This novel is written mainly to advocate the cuase of Harijan uplift by the removal of untouchability and improving the social and economic condition of the Panchamas. Though it is mainly concerned with the social reform and economic betterment of the Panchama community, the author propagates communistic doctrines and criticises trenchantly the corrupt practices of the police officials, and the objectionable methods adopted by the foreign christian missionaries. It was perhaps for this reason that the book was proscribed by the Madras Government. The ballad in the fourth chapter of the third part of the novel serves as an illustration of the communistic doctrines propagated by the author.

All men were brothern in the early days of mankind. Rivers, forests, animals of various kinds, the four oceans, the hills, herds ponds, streams, fruits, crops the dairy produce, houses and everything were the common property of all people. Every one had enough not only to eat and clothe himself but also to give to the needy persons. Men conducted themselves without making any distiction of mine and thine; no sorrow or distress affected their minds. There was no distinction of slave and nobleman no difference of the rich and the poor. and no habit of carrying and being carried in an Andala (Palanquin) All were equal; Indigestion and hunger did not make their appearance; the evil practice of serving others for money did not yet emerge. The poor did not beg the rich for gifts; the poor and the blind did not

experience the want of food and raiment; the Malas did not suffer from hunger day and night; the nobles were not indulging in pleasures, and the erroneous idea that labour degraded men was utterly unknown. In this Kali Age, however, the righteous practices of the Krita age are subverted. The Kali Age is ripe with sin; sinful practices have spread all over the world. Din, uproar, confusion and rivalry have made themselves manifest everywhere. It has become impossible to lead life honestly. Avarice rules the world as its emperor; all its wealth has fallen into the clutches of misers; people cry all is mine, all is mine; and the days when they said 'all is ours' passed away long ago. The crows are afraid to fly across the houses; people do not even shake off the particles of food adhering to the hand with which they eat to feed the crows; womenfolk in everyhouse move about with the cry 'no' on their lips. Some grab at all wealth; a few of them have become millionaires; and millions and millions of people have fallen into direct poverty. The children of the millionaires, nay their children's children and remote descendants are lords of millions. For declaring justice the wage is an aḍḍaga; and for doing work pātika (one fourth). The rich having partaken of sumptuous food stroke their bellys, but do not bestow a thought on others. They don't touch any work with their fingers, but sit indolently palcing one leg on the other. All the poor have become the slaves of the rich, and for a morsel of food they have to toil through the livelong day. However much one may toil the masters are never satsified, absence will never be excused whether one falls ill or is in distress. You must understand the secret that labour has value; don't undertake to do any work without stipulating the proper wages; and if you engage yourself for low wages to satisfy hunger, you will lose

140 229.

the affection of your fellow labourers. If all the labourers unite together the world becomes theirs. Unity is bed-rock of every achievement; if you join together and stirke work, you gain your object; you realise your desires without striking a blow or without uttering a word of abuse. Watching carefully adopt non-cooperation, when the proper time comes. No mantra or tantra in the world is superior to that. Therefore take a vow of non-cooperation without hesitation; then you can establish the samata (communistic) dharma and revive the Kritayuga dharma throughout the whole world.

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EXTRACTS FROM GOS RELATING TO N.C. & Khilafat Movement 1920-

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature

Abstract of the G.O.

("Indian Independence - Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.649 (Ordinary) dated ~~27~~ 14-8-1923.Public Department

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Government of ~~India~~ Madras declared forfeited issue No.5. of Volume I of "Indian Independence" Printed at Berlin.

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EXTRACTS FROM GOS RELATING TO N.C. & Khilafat Movement 1920-23

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature-'23

Abstract of the G.O.

("Vanguard" - English Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.660 (Ordinary) dated 18-8-1923:Publi@c Departmen

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Government of Madras declared forfeited issue No.II of Volume II dated 15th July 1923 of a newspaper in English entitled "Vanguard" published in Dublin.

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285
NC-52 Khilafat Movement 1920-25
Proscribed Literature '23

EXTRACTS FROM GOS RELATING TO

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Abstract of the G0.

("The United States of India" - Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered).

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.681 (Ordinary) dated 28-8-1923:Public Departmen

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Declared forfeited the issue No.1 of Volume I dated 1st July 1923 of the review entitled "The United States of India" published by the pacific coast Hindustani Association of San Francisco.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO WCO + Khil Movement (1920-23) Proscribed Literature (1923)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A - Proscribed.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.685(Ordinary)dated 30-8-1923, Public (Mis)Dept.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

~~Fort~~ Fort St. George, August 30,1923.

No. 291-- In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies wherever found of the issues of the following publications:-

(1) Hind, the Indian Organ in Europe and America, Volume II, No.24, dated London 6th July 1923;

(2) International Press Corredpondence (Printed at Berlin), Volume III, No. 50 (29) dated 12th July 1923;

(3) Workers' Dreadnought, Volume X No. 17, dated 14th July 1923, published by E.Sylvia Pankhurst at 152 Fleet Street, London E.C.4, and printed by the Agenda Pres , Ltd. (T.U.) at 10 Wine Office Court London E.C.4.,

and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

E.S.LLOYD,

Acting Chief Secretary.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO + Khil Movement (1920-25)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications (Seditions) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A - Proscribed.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.698,(Ordinary)dated 5-9-1923, Public (Mis.)Dept.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George, September 5, 1923.

No.299 -- In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies whereever found of the following publications:-

(1) The pamphlets written by Md. Badiul Alam containing an account of Moulvi Shah Muhammad Badiul Alam's defence, when under trial under the Criminal Law Amendment Act at Chittagong;

(2) The manifesto entitled "Shah Muhammad Badiul Alam, another great Pir of India surrendered for arrest accompanied by his sister, wife and daughter. Three generations from one family in jail," published by Darbesh Ghatfarhadbeg, Chittagong;

(3) Message of Shah Muhammad Badiul Alam to Mahatma Gandhi:

(4) Message of Shah Muhammad Badiul Alam to his Brother and Sister Citizens of India;

(5) Message to the followers of Tariqah (the system of spiritual training written by Md. Badiul Alam, and published by Irfanul Haq;

and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section (124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By order of the Governor in Council.)

E.S.LLOYD,
Acting Chief Secretary.

EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99 - A - Proscribed.

REFERENSE:-G.O.No717(Ordinary) dated 12-9-1923, Public (Mis.)Dept.

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GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATIN.

Fort St. George, September 12, 1923.

No.310-- In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies where-ever found of the issues of the following publications:-

(1) News Service, No.11, dated the 15th July 1923, issued by the International workingmen's Association, Berlin;

(2) News Service, No. 12, dated the 20th July 1923, issued by the International workingmen's Association Berlin;

(3) Internatonal Press Correspondence(printed at Berlin) Volume III No. 51 (30) dated 19th July 1923;

(4) Workers' Dreadnought, Volume X No. 16, dated the 7th July 1923, published by E.Sylvia Pankhurst at 152 Fleet Street London E.C. 4, and printed by the Agenda Press Ltd., (T.U.) at 10, Wine Street Court London E.C.4;

(5) Workers' Dreadnought, Volume X No. 18, dated the 21st July 1923, published by E.Sylvia Pankhurst at 152 Fleet Street London, E.C.4, and printed by the Agenda Press, Ltd., (T.U.) at 10, Wine Street Court, London, E.C.4;

(6) The workers' Weekly Official Organ of the communist Party of Great Britain dated the 21st July 1923, No. 24 printed by the Southwark Press Ltd., 242, Old Kent Road, S.E.1, and published by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at 16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2, London;

142 293.

((7) The Vanguard, Central Organ Communist Party of India (Sec. Communist International), dated the 1st August 1923, Volume II, No. 12, printed by the Emerald Press, Dublin, Ireland.

and all other documents, containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said issues of the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By Order of the Governor in Council)

E.S.LLOYD,

Acting Cheif Secretary.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO & Khil movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature (1923). 295

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications (Seditious) - Criminal Prodedure Code - Section 99-A - Proscribed.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.722(Ordinary)dated 15-9-1923, Public (Mis)Dept.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George, September 15, 1923,

No.311- In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies whereever found of the issues of the following publications:-

(1)International Press Correspondence (Special Number) Printed At Berlin, Volume III, No. 52, dated the 23rd July 1923;

(2) Internation Press Correspondence, printed at Berlin, VolumeIII, No. 53,(31)dated the 26th July 1923;

(3) Workers' Dreadnought, Volume X No. 19, dated the 28th July 1923, published by E.Sylvia Pankhurst At 152, Fleet Street, London E.C. 4 and printed by the Agenda Press Ltd. (T.U.) at 10, Wine Office Court London E.C.4.

(4) The workers' Weekly No. 25, dated the 28th July 1923, printed by the Southwark Press, Ltd., 242, Old Kent Road,S.E. 1 London, and published by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at 16, King Street Covent Garden, W.C.2, London.

and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said issues of the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

E.S.LLOYD,

Acting Chief Secretary.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO the Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature - 23

Abstract of the G.O.

("Indian Independence" Newspaper - Forfeiture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.725 (Ordinary) dated 18-9-1923:Public Department

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Government of Madras declared forfeit~~ur~~ed the issue No. 6 of Volume I of "Indian Independence." Printed in Berlin.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature '23

Abstract of the G.O.

("United ~~India and~~ States of India" - Newspaper - Forfeitur Ordered)

REFERENCE:- G.O.No.741 (Ordinary) Dated 22-9-1923:Public Departme

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Government of Madras declared forfeited the issue ~~of~~ No.2 of Volume I of the English monthly review called "United States of India " published from San Francisco.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C. S & Khilafat Movement 1920-

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed literature

Abstract of the G.O.

(Hindustani - Urdu Paper - Forfeiture - Ordered.)

REFERENCE: 740:(Ordinary) dated 22-9-1923:Public (His) Department.

Government of Madras declared forfeited a lithographed paper in Urdu entitled "Hindustani" issued from San Francisco purporting to be a message of Indians residing in America to their ~~xpaqx~~ compatriots, in India.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCS & Khilafat Movement (1920-28)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code 99-A - Proscribed.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.767(Ordinary)dated 2-10-1923, Public(Mis)Dept.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort. St. George, October 2, 1922.

No.340. In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procefure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies where-ever found of the issues of the following publications:-

(1) "Hind" The Indian organ in Europe and America dated London 28th July 1923, Vol. II No.25.

(2) International Press correspondence (Printed at Berlin) Vol.III, Nos. 54 (32) and 55 (33), dated the 2nd and 9th August 1923;

(3) Workers' Dreadnought, Vol. XNos. 20 and 21 dated the 4th and 11th August 1923 published by E.Sylivia Pankhurst, at 152 Fleet street London, E.C.4 and printed by the Agenda press ltd. (T.U.) at 10 Wine Office Court, London, E.C.4;

(4) The Workers' Weekly, Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain Nos. 26 and 27, dated the 4th and 11th August 1923 printed by the Southwark Press ltd; 242 Old Kent Road, S.E. 1, and published by executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at 16 King street, Covent Garden, W.C.1;

(5) The Vanguard, Central Organ Communist Party of India (Sec. Communist Internation) Vol. III, No.1, dated the 15th August 1923, printed by the Emerald Press, Dublin Ireland;

(6) The Communist Review, Vol. IV, No. 4, for the month of August 1923, published by the Communist Party of Great Britain 16 King Street, CoVent Garden London, W.C.2; and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said issues of the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By order of the Governer in Council)

E.S.LLOYD,
Acting Chief Secretary

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.O.S RELATING TO NCO & Khilafat Movement (1920-25)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A - Proscribed.)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 798(Ordinary)dated 16-10-1923, Public Dept.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George, October 16, 1922;

No. 370 - In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies whereever found of the issues of the following publications:-

(1) International Press Correspondence (printed at Berlin): Vol. 3, No. 56(34), dated the 16th August 1923;

(2) Hindm, the Indian Organ in Europe and America Vol. 2 No. 26, dated London 18th August 1923;

(3) News Service issued by the International Workingmen's Association Berlin, No. 13, dated 18th August 1923;

(4) Workers' Dreadnought, Vol X No. 22,dated the 18th August 1923, published by E.Sylvia Pankhurst, at 152 Fleet Street London E.C.4 and printed by the Agenda Press, Ltd., (T.U.) at 10 Wine Office Court London, E.C.4.

(5) The Workers' Weekly, Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Nos. 28 and 29, dated the 18th and 25th August 1923, printed by the Southwark Press, Ltd., 242, Old Kent Road, S.E.1 and published by the Exexutive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at 16, King Street Covent Garden W.C. 1, London;

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and all other documents containing ~~xxx~~ copies or translations of or extracts from the said issues of the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter thex publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

E.S.LLOYD,
Acting Chief Secretary.

Selections from GOs relating to Non-cooperation and Khilafat movements (1920-1925)
Proscribed literature :: Urdu Books (1923)

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EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

14. G.O.No.800 dated 16-10-1923, Public.

"Hindustaniyon ke nam khuli chitthi"

(an open letter to Indians)

Pamphlet in Urdu entitled "Hindustaniyon ke nam khuli chitthi" (an open letter to Indians), published by the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association, San Francisco, America. Names of the writer and the printer are not given.

It is an open letter to Indians written by the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association, San Francisco, America. The writer says in the beginning that serfdom is the root-cause of all calamities of India and that liberty is the remedy. Unity, organisation, and education are required for the attainment of liberty.

The writers make a brief reference to the Hindu-Muslim unity that prevailed of late in India and deplore its recent breach in the Punjab and other places, and more especially at Amritsar where the horrors of the Jallianwala Bagh had mingled the blood of both the communities. The place where the processions of both the Hindus and the Muslims used to make rounds against the Bureaucracy is now the scene of the processions of the Hindus and Muslims against each other. There was a time when we could assert in India that Englishmen were responsible for Hindu-Muslim disturbances, in India and they acted according to their policy of "divide-and-rule". But today how can we dare to look people in the face.

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We are much grieved to hear reports of disturbances. We are ashamed to find Indians in sad plight. The ~~peoplexx~~ people of America inquire of us what we have got to say now that the Hindus and Muslims were quarrelling amongst themselves. Are Englishmen still responsible for it?

The Bureaucracy must have some hand in the recent disturbances. But still Indians are much to blame. It is just according to the characteristics of the enemy. But the plight of such Indians is deplorable as blinded by their religious prejudices they play into the hands of the bureaucracy. Religious quarrels have been one of the greatest causes of the degradation of India of which the enemies have very much taken the advantage. Had there been no religious feuds there would have been unity in India and no foreign Government would have been able to establish itself. Englishmen have demolished mosques, temples and gurudwaras and caused the Musalmans to fight against their Turkish brothers. But still Indian do not understand. When moved by religious prejudices they forget what to do and what not to do. They are either the foreign Government or the loafing priests. The motive of the foreign Government is obviou s. India can be ruled only when Indians continue to fight amongst themselves. It is noteworthy that Englishmen do not even want that any one party should completely be subdued by the other. For in this case the stronger party

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would make India too hot for Englishmen to live. This has always been the keynote of the diplomacy of the enemy that Indians should not unite amongst themselves but should always continue to quarrel amongst themselves, rendering the parties weaker and weaker every day to such an extent that the last party should be rendered so weak as to be destroyed and made coolies at the sweet will of the Englishmen. When Englishmen see that the Hindus are agitating they exploit the Muslims and vice versa. But they could not however exploit the Hindus against the Muslims in the matter of the Khilafat. Englishmen feared that Hindus and Muslims were united and that if in these circumstances she went to war with Turkey, there would be rebellion in India. If Hindu-Muslim unity had not benefited India in anyway, it has surely benefited Turkey.

When India attains freedom these Englishmen and loafers (priests) will lose the means of their livelihood. For this reason both are helping each other. The Nankana and the Guru-ka-bagh affairs are fresh instances where the bigger dacoits have helped both inwardly and outwardly the smaller dacoits. The writers in the end suggest that the whole of India should follow the lead of the Akalis in the matter of humanising their loafing priests. There is no doubt that the bureaucracy will help their co-workers but others can also succeed in the same way as the Akalis have done. In doing this Indians will

surely have to undergo tribulations. Remember sacrifice fosters national strength. People should stop paying taxes to the priests and the money should be utilised in starting schools and hospitals, etc. There is nothing else noteworthy in the pamphlet.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE GOS RELATING TO N.C.S & Khilafat Movement 1920-25

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Proscribed Literature 23

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("The New Orient" - English newspaper - Proscription - Ordered).

REFERENCE: G.O.No.815 (Ordinary) dated 23-10-1923.Public department.

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~~Mabrxax~~ Government of Madras declared proscribed the issue ~~of~~ No.1 of Volume I of "The New Orient" published from New York by Basamtha Kumar Roy.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCC & Khilafat Movement

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

Books and publications (Seditious) Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A - Proscribed.

REFERENCE:-G.O.No.829(Ordinary)dated 29-10-1923, Public Dept.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort St. George October, 29,1923.

No. 387-- In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies wherever found of the issues of the following publications:-

(1) International Press Correspondence (Printed at Berlin) Volume 3 Nos. 57 (35) 58 (36) and 59 (37) dated respectively the 23rd and 29th August 1923, and 6th September 1923;

(2) Workers' Dreadnought, Volume X, Nos. 23 and 24, dated respectively the 25th August and 1st September 1923, published by E.Sylvia Pankhurst at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4 and printed by the Agenda Press, Limited (T.U.) at 10 Wine Office Court, London, E.C.4.

(3) The Workers' weekly Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain No. 30, dated the 1st September 1923, printed by the Southwark Press Limited 242, Old Kent Road, S.E.1 and published by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at 16 King Street Covent Garden, W.C.1 London;

(4) The Vanguard, Central Organ Communist Party of India (Sec. Communist International), Volume III, No. 2, dated the 1st September 1923, printed by the Emerald Press Dublin, Ireland; and

(5) News Service issued by the Secretariat of the International Workingmen's Association, Berlin, No. 14, dated the 29th August 1923;

and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said issues of the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By Order of the Governor in Council)

M.E.COUCHMAN,
Acting Cheif Secretary.

Selections from G.O.s relating to non-cooperation and (6) ... Proscribed Literature: Telugu books (1923) (1920-1923)

EXTRACTS FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"GANDHI VIJAYADHWAJA NATAKAM."

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Summary from a copy of a Telugu book entitled "Gandhi Vijayadhwaja Natakam" (Drama of Gandhi's victorious flag) by Sripada Krishnamurthi Sastri.

This is a drama in nine acts:

'It is no doubt a political drama, the object being the praise of the Non-cooperation Movement which is held out to the Public for acceptance as a duty. Most of the statements and the arguments put forth in the book are no doubt copies from the political speeches of either the leaders of the extremist or moderate parties in the country. 'The book contains the usual denunciation of the imposition of every Municipal or Provincial or Imperial tax, the Rowlatt Act and the Punjab wrongs? The effect produced on the reader who reads the whole book would be that in the opinion of the author the present Government of the country is the most wicked and unjust. So unjust that a new incarnation of the diety (Vishnu) is needed to implant justice in the land. Act IV of the Drama is the most objectionalbe part of the book as it does not merely criticise the Government of the country which it is represented is carried on by trickery but also alleges that the injustice complained of was done under His Majesty's commands. This passage attempts to excite disaffection towards His Majesty?

G.O. No. 839, dated 30-10-1923, Public Department:

Report on Gandhi Vijaya Dwaja Natakamu.

Gandhi Vijaya Dwaja Natakamu (a drama of the banner ~~of the victory of Gandhi)~~ of the victory of Gandhi) is a drama in nine acts by Kaviraj Sripada Krishnamurthi Sastri, a modern poet of some reputation. He begins his drama with a preface containing short life-sketch of the Mahatma' in which he represents him to be an avatar like Sankara, Ramanuja and Buddha possessing manifold virtues. In the course of this sketch occur passages to the following effect:-

In 1893 he witnessed with his own eyes the Hardships to which the Indians in South Africa were subjected to by the Government, preached the vows of passive resistance and satyagraha to them, sharing with them their sufferings and, going into the jail, did without disgust hasty work connected with the clearance of night soil and urine and secured triumph to his party. X X X He condemned the British Government to have fallen on lines of injustice in connection with the horrors of the Jallianwalla Bagh, discovered the principle of non-violent non-co-operation, secured universal assent to it through the National Congress

became universally known to all countries as an avatar and devoted himself to the elevation of the country with great self-sacrifice. There is great truth in what G.K. Gokhale remarked about him that like Salivahana he had the power of creating high-souled persons from dust.

The preface is concluded with an epitome of the substance of the various acts of the play.

The drama opens with a benedictory verse:- May Parasurama ** who derived great glory from the world of Rishis, who incarnated on earth for the establishment of dharma, who excelled in the virtue of equality to all, who weilding the astra (the divine missile) of Satyagraha in his hand, overthrew the treachery done to his country and who was distinguished for his self effacement, bless you!

Prelude:

Sutradhara (stage-director) entering: I have received orders to put on the stage all the events in the life of the divine avatar of Mahatma Gandhi whose name has everywhere become a Panohakhari mantra (the hymn containing five letters) whose word has become a great royal dispensation everywhere, whose principle has become a code of entry to the whole of Indian nation. X X X. (Page 1)

The Sutradahara in reply to Nati observing, what co-operation (help) can I render to you, who are a hero in need of no help and are devoted to the vow of non-co-operation? Says "I have taken that vow considering that help rendered to aliens, operates against our life as milk put in the mouth of serpents. I have never objected to help from our own party". X X X (Page 2)

Nati:- My Lord! Is not passive resistence the source of your vows of Satyagraha and non-co-operation. Hence it is, that the whole world proclaims victory as assured. Hearken (behind the secrenes) Victory is as good as assured by means of passive resistance. (Page 3).

** Parasurama, an avatar of Vishnu, who is all violence, the poet says, has reincarnated as Mohan (Gandhi) who is all non-violence (vide page 8 of this report)

Act 1.

Scene- Durban in South Africa.

Enter Gandhi and several Hindu subjects.

Gandhi:- Certainly, gictory is assured by means of passive redistance. (Page 4).

Gandhi expounds to them the principle of passive resistance and exhorts them to hold fast to non-violence and truth in the midst of all their suffering citing the example of Pzahlada. (Rage 5).

In this Act, the Indian subjects of South Africa are made to represent in vivid colours 'the hardships and privation' which they were suffering at the hands of the rulers. Mr. Gandhi, in response to these, preaches to them the doctrine of non-violent passive resistance exemplified in the life of Prahlada and tells them that in the event of all measures failing to check the cruel laws subversive of their religion, morals and self-respect'., he will go to England and lay before the Government there 'all the cruel acts done under the South African rule'. In the meanwhile he exhorts them 'to submerge all their differences to keep to the path of justice, to eschew evil acts, to shun a life of service to others, and to bear in mind the respect of Mother India.' Passages to the following effect occur in the course of this Act:-

1. Sindbula-- What shall be way of this Government? They have first of all fixed the period of indenture at 3 years. Then increasing it to 5, they make us do all base service however hard putting us to torture. (Page 6).

11. Gunatandhi: Not only this; there are many more law. X X X If an insignificant Boer comes in our way we have to bow and salaam him. Even a fellow who is not worth a straw, calls us a cooly. Our lawyers and doctors are stigmatised as cooly lawyers and cooly doctors. (Page 7).

111. Sindhu: No sooner did Swami Sankaranamda who had come to preach the Aryan religion, got into an electric tram car than an officer beat him (Page 7).

iv. Guna: X X X Mahatma! No Indian with self respect can

bear these, but there are worse things than these. They removed the shop opened by an old woman in a village, adjoining Durban and she pined away for want of a living and died. There are many more incidents like this (Pages 7 & 8)

v. Gandhi:- Alas! What cruel laws have they enacted?

Satyasanda:- You have more to hear. They have imposed a tax on every head as did Alangir. The amount of taxes xhall told comes to £ 7 per head and defaulters, men and women, are sent to jail. Unable to bear the suffering resulting from these taxes, xmany have left their families, fled the country, and committed suicide, and many are still doing it and thousands of those that have taken to the life of slaves are committing suicide unable to bear their tortures.

Gandhi:- (expressing sorrow) O! You bretherm! What dangers have befallen you! You need not say more. Live with patience under this wicked Government and there is God to do you good. Alas! How many Indians have been afflicted unable to pay taxes and bear the suffering under the sinful rule of Boers! How many were about to die unable to work on account of starvation and ill health! X X X How many of our country men have perished strangled by those cruel laws! (Pages 8 & 9)

vi. Sindhula:- The superior officer turns a deaf ear to the words of complaint against the evil done by a subordinate officer and does greater iniquity.

Guna: Mahatma! We are now plunged in an ocean of calamity and pray that you will help us to reach the shore and protect us. (Page 9).

Vii: The people- Protect us, O, Sire! If you do not protect us we shall die! The Boers are deceivers and they have no justice. X X We are being consumed for want of bread and raiment. Relive the suffering that we receive at the hands of the wretched dorias, give us food and go. (p. 10 & 11)

viii: Mr. Gandhi then preaches them the principle of passive resistance, saying that the power of the soul is greater than that of the body and exhorts them to desist from acts

of violence and be peaceful . He cites the example of Prahlada of yore. X X X He tells them that though the Government asked them to put up with their insults they should not do so, but should disobey the cruel laws, withhold the payment of taxes and refuse to give their thumb impression. Gunamandhi says in reply that they are prepared to do so remarking that they will rather die than lead a base life undergoing such sufferings at the hands of the dorias. (Page 11)

Act II.

In the first scene (Court at Dubban) of the Second Act are introduced the Dutch Viceroy, the Secretary, the Minister, and two members of the Parliament. The topic of discussion turns upon the restless spirit of the Indians in Africa under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi. The members of the Parliament advocate repression, the Minister recommends the grant of some privileges as a remedy for the unrest and objects to the application of repressive laws. The Secretary sides with the members of the Parliament after dwelling upon the spirit of insubordinate prevailing among the Indians though he admits that they will not resort to violence and will be content with having recourse to passive resistance under the lead of Mr. Gandhi. He givesa short life-sketch of Mr. Gandhi and after recounting his virtues says that he is an advocate of passive resistence. Satyagraha, and non-co-operation, and a preacher of civil disobedience to the people. They are agreed to punish him on his return from England and to enact a law excluding all Indians from South Africa. Mr. Jameson is sent for to attend a meeting along with the Indian representatives. Jameson and these representatives protest against the passing of such a law. One of the later remarks that such an Act is unheard of and calculated to excite the redicule of other nations. He stigmatises such Acts as 'Satanic Acts'. Another says that they will never obey such an Act though that may ential the loss

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of their all, imprisonment, hanging or even death'. Then crops up a proposal to prevent Mr. Gandhi's return to South Africa, one of them proposing to fire on the ship carrying him so that if may sink. It was decided upon at last, that the ship carrying Mr. Gandhi should be prohibited from entering the harbour.

The next scene (The Durban Beach) introduces the steam-ship carrying Gandhi and some Indians making for the harbour. The captain receives a message to stop his ship from entering the harbour. Gandhi leanrs the fact from the Captain, deplores the evil character of the Dutch Government remarking that 'raging as a Satanic Government, it oppresses the people greatly'. In his soliloguy, he bemoans that despite his representation and the love they owed to the Indians the British Government did not interfere, feels himself at a loss to decide what to do seeing that he must not go away leaving his countrymen there to their fate, nor take them along with him to his country depriving them of their extensive vested interests in Africa, regrets that even his friendly associations with Mr. Robinson, the Minister, and Mr. Jameson, the Member, could be of no avail and closes his eyes in meditation.

Then Madanajit, one of the party tells Mr. Gandhi that they all look to him as God and are prepared to lay down their lives in obeying his orders and adds, "We have our great weapon, passing resistence, and you have declared that victory will be insured by our having recourse to it.' Gandhi accordingly decides upon resorting to it saying, 'The adamant may have its edge blunted, the sun may lose his splendou and the fire its heat, but passive resistance can never los its power.'. They pursuade the captain of the ship to weigh the anchor, steer the ship into the port. The Police Inspector orders Gandhi to say on in the ship till night-fall though the rest of his party go, but Gandhi disobeys the order and proceeds

fearlessly towards the city. The people surround him throwing stones, and one of them who comes from behind armed, abuses him and kicks him down and Gandhi falls down senseless. A lady raises him and leads him to the house of a friend which is surrounded by the mob and Gandhi effects his escape. By this time, a voice behind the scenes proclaims that the restrictions imposed on the Indians have been removed. Mr. Escomby approaches Gandhi and expires on account of a failure of the heart during the interview, with words of repentence on his lips. The incident of the Boer war, the services rendered by Gandhi and his party, the appreciation by the Governor of these services and the present made by him of a medal to Gandhi,. Gandhi taking leave of the Governor acquainting of his intention to go to India and of his with that a fair treatment should be accorded to his fellow-countrymen in South Africa and the promise of the Governor bring the Act almost to a close, when Gandhi receives a telegram informing him of the 'humility' (humiliation) to which the Indians Durban are subjected on account of the reinstating of the law relating to thumb impression, Gandhi has it read and exclaimed. Brethren, I intend to go to my native land, thinking that our suffgerings have been at an end. This Government which appears to be a burden to the earth never takes to the right path. It .... as if it has no parallel in perpetrating wicked (kirata) act Gandhi and his party work against the law, are arrested and putting chains into the presence of General smutts, who shows

in the sentences he pronounces upon Gandhi and advises him to go to his child who is seriously ill. Gandhi does not choose to follow his advice, and General Smutts retires in admiration for him. Gandhi is thereafter introduced, labouring with a shovel in his hand with injuries out of which exudation has been issuing and preaching patience obedience to discipline, and forbearance towards the Government' against which no hate is to be entertained'.

General Smutts is again introduced setting free Gandhi and his party, but Gandhi and his party are again arrested and brought before the magistrate Gandhi refusing to take the advice of the magistrate, presenting to him the duty of following one's conscience fearless of punishment, and praying that the extreme penalty of the law may be imposed upon him 'the arch-offender', the magistrate is incensed at him and passes a sentence of rigorous imprisonment. Gandhi is the introduced as a scavenger. Encouraging his party with a song explaining away the indignity of their humble duties to do with a cheerful heart, their work which is a service to humanity. The Act concludes with a voice from behind the scenes, proclaiming the abrogation of the cruel laws' and announcing freedom to the Indians in Africa.

Act III.

In this Act, it is stated that Gandhi is an incarnation of Parasurama (an incarnation of Vishnu who destroyed, the Kshatriyas 21 times) and that, while the Parasurama incarnation of Vishnu was all violence the Gandhi-incarnation is all non-violence. In this Act are narrated how Gandhi relieved the distress of the ryots of Chaparan and Kaira and the mill hands of Ahmedabad by making them follow passive resistance, and himself fasting in the last case. In this Act the following occurs with reference to the grant of the Reforms. Narada (Rishi):- When he settled down at the Satyagrahasrama with his family Mr. Montague craftily declared that responsible government would be given to India. He (Gandhi) had memorials sent by thousands rejecting the reforms. All the same, the Reforms were granted and the people, unwilling to accept them, loudly cried that, while bringing little benefit to them, they would lead to increased taxation.

Parvata (A fellow Rishi):- Who will accept these reforms which resemble a mirage? (Page 45).

At the close of this Act a messenger from the Viceroy waits upon Gandhi with a letter inviting him for an

an interview,. Then follows Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy offering help to the Government. With men and money during the war and expecting swaraj in return. Then enter Tilak, Kelkar, and Patel who enter into a conservation with Gandhi in the following strain:- X X X.

Tilak:- (To Gandhi) It is said that you had an interview with the Viceroy in which you held forth on loyalty. What is the news?

Kelkar:- What other news can there be, but that he must have praised like a flatterer? X X X.

Gandhi:- It is true that I have loyalty. There will be no doubt that if we help them in this crisis we shall have swaraj. X X

Kelkar:- Can we say that (this Government) really accords us equal treatment with their countrymen? There is no freedom at all and taxes are consuming us. This Government is no common one. It will receive your help now, but will not give you anything afterwards. X X X.

Tilak:- That you should speak thus as you please strangely changing so soon will be just as thirsty animals run up to a mirage at a distance only to die with their hunger unappeased and their thirst unquenched.

Gandhi:- Whatever that might be that is my conviction. X X X

Tilak: X X X We shall see if you will not in course of time change your mind and resort to Satyagraha and non-co-operation. X X X (Exeunt all).

Act IV.

The Act opens with a dialogue between Devendra (the lord of the gods) and Brihaspati (the preceptor of the gods) in which the former issues orders providing accomodation in Swarjya (Heaven) to such go there dying on the battle field (during the great war). Narada rishi is then introduced who tells Devendra that the Indians tributed much money and many men for the war. Then ensues a conversation to the following effect:-

Davendra:- We learn that the British, in ruling the Indians observe distinctions. How could the latter help

Narada:- In this lies the greatness of the Indians. They protect even an enemy deserving to be killed if he submits to them. They have no hate and disposition to do evil.

Devandra:- Since India is such a holy land Sri Maha Vishnu incarnates there on in every yuga and establishes Dharma when it is at stake.

Narada:- He has now incarnated as Mohana.

X X X

Narada:- As soon as the Great European War hand ended and while the Indians had been expecting swaraj, Montague, the Secretary of State, contrived a trick.

Davendra:- What ! Say you that he contrived a trick! Mr. Montague has been reported to be a good person and friend of India.

Narada:- He was so while he was a member of the Cabinet but as the Secretary of State he is this manner. Fancying that he was a good man our Indians showed him respect, but it has been all in vain.

Davendra:- Devising a trick, what did he do?

Narada: He came to India and pretended to be a great benefactor. Swaraj we had none at all. Unable to say 'No' he had reforms issued. Though some had secured high offices thereby, the country has not derived any benefit from them. on the other hand, some taxes have been increased. Then said our Mohan, 'Having promised to concede Swaraj, they have issued such useless reforms. On account of this, the tales which have already grown beyond limit and been consuming the people like fire have been augmented by the addition of some more. What if such Acts are enacted or not? This is not justice on the part of the British rulers and he made others say so. Whatever anyone has said the Reforms Bill has been passed into an Act and this is what the Indians have received at present.

Then enters Lord Chelmsford with a small retinue in his palance at Delhi.

Chelmsford:- (Aside) Great King Emperor, the autocrat who has overrun the whole of the earth by dint of his resistless

prowess, has commanded me, "Oh, you who have independent powers in all matters, go forth as my Viceroy, crush all the revolutionaries in our Empire, confiscate all the property of such as oppose you, and carry on a glorious arbitrary rule with the help of powerful laws". It was in pursuance of that royal command that I came here. I cannot think of any great act that I can do at present. If I want to fall upon the feudatory chiefs, they xhave already been vanquished, and only exist in name. If I wish to crush my opponents, I have none of them. What remains is that I should exercisex my arbitrary powers over these people. May that autocratic soveriegn appreciate my tact! (Thinking for a while) Ah! Have not the extremists come upon the scene now? I have heard that, setting at naught the lord of the country, relying upon the new spirit, giving up the desire for life and taking no heed of me, they have been inciting the people by evil preaching. They do not know what I am, what prowess I have, and what my laws are. To help me in the work of arresting and dishonouring them, I have the co-operation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others. I have issued orders for them to see me and go I do not understand why they have not come.

Then enter Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Rowlatt who, in consultation with the Viceroy, draft a Bill and place it before the Council consisting of Malavya, Srinivasa Sastri, Jinnah, Narasimha Sarma, Sankaran Nair etc, all of whom except the last object to the passing of the Bill, on grounds such as that it may be used against the innocent good persons by the underlings who may be tempted by considerations of lucre, that it might paralyse healthy political agitation, that there already exist laws to chastise revolutionary spirits, that it was objected to by all parties and that it might lead to unnecessary agitation at a time when peace prevailed in the country. Sankaran Nair and Michael O'Dwyer support the Bill and Lord Chelmsford declares it passed. Malavya, Jinnah

Narashimha Sarma, reisign their offices. Lord Chelmsford pointed out to them the loss of prestige, present and prospective which may sustain as a consequence of their acts. Malavya and Jinnah adhere ..... to their decision while Narasimha Sarma withdrawn his resignation. Lord Chelmsford then turns to Michael O'Dwyer and tells him, "The Bills have been passed into Law. Go back to the Punjab and suppress the revolution with its help.

ACT V.

This Act opens with an interview of Malavya and Jinnah with Gandhi at his Satyagrahasrama, who narrate to him the full story including Narasimha Sarma's withdrawal of his resignation at which Gandhi expresses disappointment. Then ensues the following conversation:-

Malavya:- I learn that Chelmsford called Michael O'Dwyer to him and said to him " I have enacted laws in conformity to your wishes. Use them as you please in the Punjab" and sent him away. It is said that he has gone back to the Punjab and been behaving as he pleases, applying the law to five districts. I learn, further, that he has been repressing the people, silencing the Press, and muzzling the educated, rooting up platforms, suppressing the freedom of the people, and accusing them of plots against the Government.

Gandhi:- What acts does this bad fellow do? But we are not without a remedy; that is the vow of Satyagraha. I shall preach it to all and make to adopt it. Let us first convene a meeting today and appoint a committee.

Then enter Kitchlew, Satyapal, and Dassai and Gandhi makes a long speech to them to the following effect:-

Friends, the riots of the rebels have now subsided, the Great European War has ended, peace prevails. Despite the protests of many, the Government have passed the Rowlatt Bills and are fanning unrest. I must now inagurate Satyagraha all over the country, and awaken the people. Every one that condemns the Rowlatt Acts should take to Satyagraha. I first introduced this in South Africa. It differs from passive resistance, in that unlike the

latter which adopts material of forces also for the achievements of its ends, it depends exclusively upon the power of truth, love and soul. By this power, we can vanquish .... and Vanquishing means weaning him from wrong and converting him to be our friend, and all this by means of peace which means self chastening. While passive resistence is the weapon of the weak, satyagraha is the weapon of the strong. Daniel, Socrates, and Prahlada triumphed by adopting it. This is nothing new to us. This, which we have in house-hold matters, may be availed of in political crises. Our ..... cannot have peace, if we do not understand Satyagraha. Truth and Love are the two sides of this coin. Its application is un-.....

In its fight, death is salvation, and jail, the high-road to freedom. It may be termed soul-force. It contemplates no violence- to him who uses it, to him who is aimed at. So it blesses both. X X X Even if any one employes brute force against us to constrain us to do a bad thing, we should not vield to it, but must be prepared to lay down our life. It is then that sin in the world will end. The desire of the people now is to oppose an unjust Act. If we are unwilling to be caught in the clutches of the legislations, this is the only unfailing remedy. It is our duty to obey all just laws, but we must oppose an unjust law and be prepared to take the consequences with a pure heart. I beleive that the Rowlatt Acts infringe human rights. The whole world has protested against them. The Acts have been passed in the face of these protests. Satyagraha is a pure and peace means for expressing our protests. The 6th of April must be observed all over India as a day of fast and hartal. We must go out and exact a vow from every person to the following effect: We know that these Rowlatt Acts are unjust and quench all our just ..... The kingdom rests upon justice, dharma and freedom. We began since we are made living corpses by our having been deprived there

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is no other means left for us but Satyagraha for the ... of our rights. We shall therefore disobey not only this law but ... Other laws until this law is repealed. In this fight, we on our side adhere to ...... the path of truth and refrain from doing anything injuring to the property and life of others. Motilal, Malavya and Desai ... . givings that the adoption of Satyagraha may lead to disturbance. Satyapal and Kitchlew however accept it, as well as the audience . Gandhi's proposal was accordingly accepted by all and Gandhi convened a committee with Desai as Secretary for holding meetings in every village ~~lage~~ for fearlessly publishing prohibited books and issuing news without the permission of the Government. He adds that the editor ___ editor should go into the jail and the voe should be ___ the Rowlatt laws are repealed. All depart agreeing to ___ Gandhi in a soliloquy observes to the following effect:- "What wise Bal Gangadhar pointed out has come to pass namely that the people British accomplish their ends by holding out hopes which they ultimately disappoint". I then set at naught his words and had much money thrown ___ western ocean and many lives sacrificed for their sake. ___ of obtaining swaraj. Alas! Though these crafty people ___ my mind is reluctant to act against them. I shall see . A messenger from Delhi enters and narrates the incidents ___ with the celebration of the Satyagraha in Delhi and Gandhi sorrow) "What can we say. These are the doings of base kirat ___ ter's caste) and not those of rulers who profess to be educated carry on a just rule. Alas! Passion will render a man blind to propriety.

Then follows a narration of Gandh's journey to Delhi his arrival, his internment at Bombay, his deputing Desai to pacify people in Delhi and the Punjab, his receiving a message about the distrubances in Punjab and his sending a letter to the people of the Punjab ~~andx~~ enjoying patience and forbearance on them.

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Then enters a messenger with a letter to Gandhi from Mr. Desai to the following effect:- The hartal went on in conformity with your instruction. Union between the Hindus and the Muhammadans had been cemented by Sir Michael (O'Dwyer apprehending danger to the British rule in that wanted to supress it, had prosecutions launched declaring that the Lahore leaders had been inciting the people to sedition and that the hartal had been a source of sedition. On Sri Rama Navami, Rambboj Datt and others were arrested and in Jalandar and other places, the Government exercised their arbitrary power taking advantage of the hartal observed therein. At Amritsar, Kitchlew and Satyapal were arrested for preaching Satyagraha in an assembly of thirty thousand. Then follows:-

Gandhi: (Throwing down the letter) Alas! What a serious thing has transpired! What have these wicked souledpeople done? At a time when peace had been prevailing over the country, alas, that demon of O'Dwyer came, had evil laws enacted and the ancient rights of the Indians quenched; and brought calamity to the country. They arrested innocent people We shall term it as base and foolish. What demoniac action is this firing upon the dumb crowds without discrimination? Can any one say that these are acts done by men? Alas! This infatuated demon of O'Dwyer will not refrain from arresting all kind hearted persons who speak against him and indiscriminately devouring them.

Then enters Desai, who narrates to Gandhi the disorders that followed the obstruction of the people in the Punjab approaching the Deputy Commissioner with a prayer for the release of Kitchlew and Satyapal, and adds the remark:- All this is done by ignorant people who forget themselves in a fit of indignation excited by inflaming those who were going to complain against the groundless arrest of innocent persons. Upon Gandhi enquiring whether these horrors ended there, Desai narrates the Jallianwalla Bagh incident.

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Desai:- X X X Dyer came there and saw in that assembly, children women and old men, rubbing shoulders with one another. Dyer had machine guns brought up and gave an order to fire over the crowd. The angry soldiers fell upon them in a body and rained fire over them. They fell covering the earth all over. Alas! How can I describe it! By that shower of bullets, fell children young men, oldmen, men and women in large heaps and blood flowed freely. X X X Everywhere were to be seen trunks, hands, legs, entrails, calves, and fragments lying thickly strewn and forlorn. In a ravine (?) in that fearful Bagh lay corpses piled in heaps like hills of those who had died wailing with pain terror, thirst. X X X Some were crying, O, Rama! O, Krishna! O, Sankara! Why do you not listen to our cries? X X There were those who wailed, losing their heads, hands and legs, those who fell to the ground, trampled over by the crowd and were dying, those who were cursing those eaters of men, those who abused the Government. X X X That Dyer, not content with that had Martial law proclaimed and had honour violated, had millionaries imprisoned and lawyers arrested, be-labourned and abused. He made them to crawl, to salute and had them tortured crushed and stabbed with bayonets. X X He had then tied to the triangle and thrashed and subjected them to various tortures. He had them prosecuted for offences and crimes, and imprisoned and deported, and worked havoc among them in various ways, receiving help and support from O'Dwyer and the Viceroy. The Rowlatt Acts thus proved to be demons and an untimely deluge to be terror-stricken people. O! Lord and friend of the world! think remedy for this with your divine insight and protect the world. Gandhi swoons saying. "O, God X X X Did the prowess of Dyer and his party end with that?"

Desai: Will it end without his ending? X X X In places such as Lahore, Gujranwala and Jinabad, he had Martial Law proclaimed and thrown, guns fired, arrests made, and people imprisoned and .....

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Gandhi: When, of yore, the honour of one Panchali (Panchala woman, the wife of the Pandavas) was about to be outraged, Sri Krishna listened to her prayer, saved her from it, and won the praise of all the Kshatriyas. Will he now refrain from saving so many of Panchala (the Punjab) who are afflicted in this manner? X X X

Then enters Nehru who tells Gandhi, that the Hunter Committee was constituted to enquire into the Punjab disorders, that, in pursuance of their report, the Home Government upheld the action of O'Dwyer and the Viceroy and only held that Dyer's action was hasty, and that Dyer was granted a pension by the Government and a reward for his meritorious work by the British people.

Gandhi: Alas! What has happened! I have been thinking that the Government will chastise Dyer and others for the Punjab massacres. Alas! Our Government has been gradually falling into injustice.

The Act closes with the appointment of a Committee (non-official) to enquire into the Punjab disorders and a deputation to proceed to England to discuss the Reforms.

ACT VI.

This Act opens with the speech of Sradhananda proposing Nehru at President of the Amritsar Congress. In this occurs:-

X X X On account of this, General Dyer had much wealth (cries of fie on him) Not to speak of those who had suffered or died here two very young boys were accused of waging war against the Government and one of them was hanged and the other transported (cries of shame, shame) the insult given to the women exceeded that given to Panchali (the wife of the Pandavas) of yore. Then, there was Sri Krishna, but now there is none. X X X Nehru takes the Presidential Chair and says, "X X X What the Government have given us in return to the help received from us is the Rowlatt Act. X X X Tilak proposes the adoption of the 'unfailing weapon of non-co-operation'

by the Indians who have no army or weapons. Malavya and Gandhi oppose it and the latter walks out of the Congress when the proposition is taken up for discussion. Gandhi later on repents his having opposed on account of his loyalty this proposition of the wise and far-seeing Tilak, and feels a change coming over his opinion since the Punjab insults and others things. Just then he overhears Shaukat Ali's indignant soliloquy 'You fellow ! What a trick have your contrived! You have made tall talk by saying that you would render us help and received our help, but far from rendering any such help, you intend to destroy our faith. Have you thought that the prowess of the Muhammadans, renouned as leading solely heroic lives, has gone down? Have you thought of devouring the Moslem State in your continent as not deserving to exist therein? The Khalifa is a Guru (preceptor) of the Muhammadans who is as great as God. Will the seven crores of Muhammadans in India shrink from laying down their lives for him? To what an injustice have you stooped? Know that our religion will not be shaken ever so little, even if the earth and sky melt or Mount Meru is upset. I emphatically assert that your evil schemes will all fall to the ground the moment (we) stare at them. All know that our Hindu-Moslem unity will without fail shake the whole world. May you and your people know that the 33 crores of us who are born of the same mother will not shrink from bloodshed!

Gandhi recognises him as Shaukat Ali, expresses his regret at the imprisonment of the Ali Brothers in the cruel jails of the aliens and speaks pacifying words to him, to which he replies:-

Shaukat Ali:- You are a Mahatma and your words are gospel for us but when the evil and arbitary acts of the Government come to my mind my indignation grows strong. What shall I do?

Gandhi preaches non-violence to him, hastens with shaukat Ali the sick bed of Tilak in Bombay in his dying moments, receives aspirations from him, and

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returns home as a changed person. Mother India enters bemoaning the loss of Tilak and the lack of a competent son for delivering her from servitude, securing swaraj for her. Gandhi consoled her and asks her if she has any other cause of grief.

Mother India says:- You ask me if I have any cause. All that I and ___ offspring have are sufferings. Listen! If we think of the infliction of taxes, we can see no end of them. The hardship of having to pay taxes without the ability to do so cannot be described. Even wellx-to-do persons had to stoop to service. As for famine, it incessantly consumes the people of this country. Alas! The sufferings to which the Government subject my offspring cannot be counted. Your sovereigns, like words smeared over with honey speak sweet words, but cannot keep one of them. To add to this, they trampled you under foot, put you to troubles and oppress you. You must not wield a sword you must not speak, you must not open your lips to make speeches even though they are not new, you must not run good newspapers, you must not set up a press. Alas! The laws create disabilities for you. Alas! If we boild the efflloresence of our walls or evaporate the water of our sea under the sun, they accuse us of an offence under the Salt Act. Alas! Our rulers make such Acts and kill us. Our mind is afflicted the moment we think of the suffering inflicted on many persons in the Punjab. We do not know whether General Dyer is a devil or a demon; he shot down thousands. He had women seized, and their upperclothes removed, and had them beaten after making them stoop. He arrested innocent persons, made them crawl and had them thrown up. He has further perpetrated any amount of violence. You pay no heed to all this. You cherish vain hopes with a vacant mind. What shall we say of your ways.

Gandhi: Mother! Listen to me forgiving me for my fault. Following a wrong tract, I cherished vain hopes that progress

can be had by means of loyalty. Tilak cured me of this and your words have proved to be shafts. Alas! Why do you annoy me further? 189

I swear thouching your feet, I shall lay down my life for the sake of the people. I shall deliver you from your servitude and bravely remove the distress of my brethren. Be consoled O mother! Hereafter that I am your Tilak.

Then people enter singing:- "Alas! Alas! We cannot support our body on this earth. All have to die. Our religion has been consigned to flames and our wealth to dust, and we have nothing left for us but service Even when we serve them with our wives and children, our rulers make up weep without any good will for us.

A citizen s y s:- There is a tax for profession, atax for laying money out for interest, a heavy tax for any gani, a tax for building a house, a tax for drawing toddy, a tax for Ippa trees, a tax for salt, a tax for imams, a tax for crops, a tax for a marriage pandal, a tax for the back-yard, a tax for nuxvomica seeds, a tax for a spear, a tax for opium, a tax for water, a tax for grass, a tax for road, a tax for walking, a tax for sitting, The foreign rulers have devised and inflicted so many taxes and are oppressing us. Alas! What can I sayI. Crops and trees about to bear have withered away for want of water What destress is this? They have become masters? of stream water which God gives out of love and appoint turns stinting its supply.

All- Protect! Lord Protect! (Wailing aloud).

Mother India says: Do you hear my son how the people are wailing, When will there be an end to it?

Gandhi:- When gods grace comes upon them?

Mother India:- My children! Do not wail. He has undertaken to do much for you.

Gandhi: Oh! Ye people! I am ready to lay down my life in obedience to my mother's command.

The Act closes with Gandhi making a determination to introduce the non-cooperation resolution in the special session of the Calcutta congress going to meet for discussing the oppression of the Government.

ACT VII.

This Act opens with a prelude in which Satyavadi enters and speaks: Friends, I have to come to express my joy to-day. Listen to me. A new era has begun for us. Mahatma Gandhi has in obedience to the counsels of Lokamanya and Lokamata (Mother India) taken a resolution to oppose the Government, to inaguaurate non-co-operation to boycott councils, to have the Khilafat question settled and reparatiated for the Punjab massacres and to obtain swaraj. He announced his intention, made it known to the Viceroy that he has severs connection with a the Government behaving in violation of mora up his Kaisari-hind Medal, toured over the country, and to have non-co-opeation adopted by the people and by the National Congress at its special session at Calcutta. X X X I call upon you all to lend a helping hand to the non-co-operation movement of Gandhi. The next scene opens with the special session of the Congress at Calcutta in which occur the speeches of Lajpat Rai, Gandhi and others regarding the non-co-operation resolution which is adopted by a majority of 1852 against 889;

Lajpat Rai observes in his opening speech to the following effect: X X X Respected Sirs! The time is past when we have to live begging the Govern ment. Though to oppose is not the practice of the Indians, we have to learn it following their example We now want a firm determination for it and judgment. X X X. The Government say that the Punjab massacres were needed for the maintenance of the Empire and were not at all unjust. It is an evil affair for the whole country and not a province. We must demand a reparation and safeguard for preventing their repititien in future. They now offer boons devoid

of honour and freedom. We should not accept them. The of our rulers has come to a low ebb on account of O'Dwyer. We have no freedom under this rule. We are now fit for swaraj and demand the freedom that prevails in Canada and otherplaces. We may accept the Reforms of reparation is made for the Punjab wrongs. We must feel pround for the resignation of Sir Sankaran Nair with a protest that the Punjab massacres are unjust. X X X Out Muhammadan brethren and ourselves must join to carry on the non-co-operation movement and create a new epoch. X X X If there is a lack of educated leaders a great rebellion must ensue without fail. They can pacify the people. The Government unable to understand this are suppressing leaders and re spending our money upon military officers, who are taking our lives. The acts of Dyer cannot be forgotten. We have now to decide whether or not to co-operate., and guide the people accordingly. X X X You will listen attentively to Mahatma Gandhi who is going to address on non-co-operation.

Gandhi then delivers his speech moving the non-co-operation resolution and beginning with his programme about the boy-cott of councils courts, schools foreign goods, etc. In the course of his speech, he observes to the following effect:-

X X X Our people have been horribly massacred and insulted in the Punjab. The National Congress cannot maintain its prestige without upholding the honour and prestige of our people. I leave it to you to consider how we can accept a gigt at its hands. The moment when a country realises that it is in a state of servitude and that what her rulers concede is only a return for her services, that very moment that country rejects that help at others hands. She will not show any co-operation to its conquerors. If any nation aspires for victory in the fight for freedom it must come to a decision that its opponent is an alien and that it should not co-operate with it. This is my mposition. X X X If I have to choose between

Hindu-Moslem unity. British connection, I prefer the former. If I have to choose between the suffering and honour of the Punjab on the one hand, and anarchy, disorder and lose British connection on the other, I make bold to — honour of my countrymen. My desire to maintain the swaraj from country men consumes by body and heart. The question is whether swaraj from within or without the councils? (Cries of Nation) Your British Government has neither repentance nor confidence in you. How can you believe these reforms? How can I believe them to be the means for conceding you swaraj and not the fatters charged for binding you on to the British rule? How can you under thse circumstances hope to win swaraj thereby? The boycott of videsi goods and the adoption of swadesi is as necessary as the boycott of the councils.

Lajpat Rai in his cocluding speech accepts Gandhi's resolution ignoring his own variance with it in a few minor details and recommends Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation in its entirety for the unanimous adoption of all the people in the country till the attainment of Swaraj.

ACT VIII.

This Act opens with a panchayat court in which offences against the programme adopted at the Calcutta Congress are tried and sentences pronounced for the offences such as buying and weaving a foreign cloth, having a cloth woven with foreign yarn, failing to instal a spinning wheel at home, or installing it failing to keep it working, sending a son to the existing schools, boycotting the school and failing to keep that vow taking the non-co-opeation vow and breaking it, failing to give up the lawyer's profession, and entering the Legislative Councils. The the Panchayat court adjourns seeing that work has to be done in connection with elections the next day.

Then follows an election scene. Bhaddu dora goes

about tom-tomming that people should vote setting at saught the dissuasion of the non-co-operators on pain of incurring the displeasure of the Government and the consequent troubles. Then enter Bulli Dorai and Thayagappa (corruption of Thyagappa) Finding the polling box empty by 7 p.m. Billi dora commissions Thyagappa to use his influence and secure some votes. The Karnam and the munsiff are sent for. They come and speak against the Councils. The Karnam says that the Government only make promises, but never fulfil them, and that so long as the Government is in the hands of British Dorias he sees no use in voting. Thyagappa extolls the Reforms and tells them to be faithful to the salt they eat. The Karnam says that they are eating their own salt, that the Councils are but a mirage, and that they would not vote even if they lose their offices and are punsihed. The Karnam sets at naught the threats of Thyagappa and departs in anger. Thyaggappa then turns to the munsiff, tells him that Collectors are all at his bec and call and that he would deprive the hasty kurnam of his Office, lands, etc, and that he, who as a Non-brahmin has done much to emeliorate the condition of the Non-brahmins, will do his best to further the interests of the munsiff if he votes, and succeeds in getting his vote(the only one secured) appealing to his Non-brahmin sysmpathies. The Act concludes with the soliloquy of Thegappa to the following effect:-

Alas: How potent is the influence of the Mahatma. X X X There is a rumour that in some places empty boxes have been placed before Billi Dora. X X X Wherever we turn we do not find among the people any fear of Government jails transportation or death. Who can do anything to such people? Even the Government haveto be silent without doing anything for fear of the consequences. The special session of the Congress has brought about so much, and I do not know what the Nagpur session may bring about. X X X

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ACT IX.

This Act is taken up with the proceedings of the Nagpure Congress in which non-co-operation resolution receives 'the assent of all'. Chaitta Ranjan Das, while moving the animated resolution about non-co-operation, observes to the following effect:-

X X X The faith of the ruled in the rulers is shaken Their (rulers') treachery having increased the policy of begging them has been abandoned, and the National Congress has got new splendour. The Non-co-operation programmex from the renouncing of titles to the withholding of taxes, will go on without violence. X X X Non-cooperation movement which is devoid of violence will, I am convinced, help towards the attainment of Swaraj. This has been more completely discussed than at Calcutta. It gives me great pleasure to remove the servants from the Empire which is the seat of all suffering. X X X. Ye Government servants, it is you that carry on the arbitary rule. Tell your Government herafter that you will not use your hands for moving the machine of the aribitary Government. X X X.

Lajpat Rai observes: We must all respect this resolution, and act according to it. The British forces are not many. They are secure on account of a crafty policy. They have created differences and dissensions among officials and destroyed our unions. There is nothing revolutionary in our resolution about sepoys. There is nothing therein asking them to fall out with the rulers. It contains a suggestion to tell them that they will do well to avoid the fault of abandoning their duty to their countrymen while discharging the duties of service X X X Syama Sundara Chakravarthi says:- X X X India is now ready for a rebellion without bleed shed. She will certainly teach a lession to the world. X X X. Jitendra Lala says:- X X X I know the principle of non-co-operation very well. Unjust Government must go out of

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of the world. It cannot help going out if it is deprived of our help. We must try to free ourselves from that slavish condition. The system of education and the administration of justice under this rule have contributed most to this base condition. We must first destroy them. X X X students and lawyers set forth with give up schools and the profession of law. X X X

Chakravarthi says: This education deprives us of our virtues and brings danger to the greatness of the Indian nation. I speak from experience that he who enters the university is a malefactor to the country. We must now keep Prahlada in mind and preach to boys. X X

Bommanji, while supporting non-co-operation, says, "I, firmly assert that the method of exchange decided upon by the Government is a pillage sanctioned by law".

X X X X X X X X

Gandhi says: Lalaji has advised the police not to serve and kill their souls. I quite agree with him in it. If I were under Dyer at Jallianwallabagh and ordered to fire on innocent people I would shoot myself, feeling sorry for the great sin. Now if a sepoy finds his duty to his country at variance with the orders of his superior, he may disobey or put an end to himself, but should not act according to superior's orders. X X X. The proceedings close after the speech of Mr. Benspoor. Leaders bow to the feet of Gandhi, and Nehru places a 'Swadesi crown' on his head. People strew flowers over him and boy-scouts plant the flag of citrory by his side. X X X Lajpat Rai goes near the national flag and describes and explains it.

TRUE COPY

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO NCO & Khil Movements (1920-25)

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Proscribed Literature (1923)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

(Books and Publications (Seditious) - Criminal Procedure Code - Section 99-A - Proscribed.)

REFERENCE: G.O.No.850(Ordinary)dated 2-11-1923, Public (Mis)Dept.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

NOTIFICATION.

Fort Saint.George, November 2,1923.

No. 388- In exercise of the powers conferred by section 99-A of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council hereby declares to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies wherever found of the issues of the following publications:-

(1) Workers' Dreadnought, Vol. X Nos. 24 and 26 dated the 8th September 1923, and 15th September 1923, published by E.Sylvia Pankhurst at 152, Fleet Street London, E.C.4. and printed by the Agenda Press, Limited (T.U.) at 10 Wine Office Court, London E.C.4;

(2) International Press Correspondence(printed at Berlin) Vol 3. No. 60(328) dated the 13th September 1923;

(3) The Vanguard, Central Organ Communist Party of India (Sec. Communist International), Vol III, No. 3 dated the 15th September 1923, printed by the Emerald Press, Dublin, Ireland; and

(4) The Workers' Weekly Official Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain No. 32, dated the 15th September 1923, printed by the London Caledonian Press, Ltd., 74 Swinton Street, W.C.1 and published by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at 16, King Street Covant Garden, London, W.C.2.

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and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said issues of the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter, the publication of which is punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

(By Order of the Governor in Council)

M-E.COUCHMAN,
Acting Chief Secretary.

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and all other documents containing copies or translations of or extracts from the said issues of the said publications inasmuch as they contain seditious matter, the publication of which is punishable under section 124-a of the Indian Penal Code.

(By Order of the Governor In Council.)

M.E.Couchman,
Acting Chief Secretary.

Extracts from COOS relating to NCO and Khilafat movement in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed Literature) (1924) (1920-1925)

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MGK [British who have done their best to warn the British statesmen and public against ill-treating Turkey, would, we have no doubt, lead to favourable results provided that "all prejudices are cast aside" as the "Pall Mall Gazette" says, and no so-called "accomplished facts" are obstinately clung to.]

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17. G.O. No. 169 ordinary Public dated 11-3-1924.

The following is the text of the speech of Col.W.L.O Twiss, Deputy Director of Intelligence, Army Head-quarters on "Indian Military Affairs" at the staff office, Fort St. George. About 30 officers of Madras Garrison attended the lecture. The representatives of almost all the local dailies were present. The lecturer dwelt mainly on the North West Frontier External India, Defence of India, cost of the Army and Indianisation of the Army.

NORTH WEST FRONTIER

Bolshevik Russia, the lecturer said, is intriguing in the North West Frontier and carrying on anti-Indian propaganda. There are four areas in the North Western Frontier. Those areas are occupied by criminal tribes who get allowances from the Afghans and those tribes are invariably hostile to the British interests. In Waziristan road construction is done by British troops. The situation in that area is comparatively easier now. But if the criminal tribes are not given the allowances, the country will be very much quieter. Wana area is of

strategic importance. If we control Wana we will be able to control the whole Waziristan area. Baluchistan has been quiet with the exception of two murders of Englishmen. Further it is only an administrative territory. Our frontier policy is one of non-aggression against tribes so long as they keep quiet. The frontier problem is much more difficult than the problem is much more difficult than the problem in Tirah and in the area north of the Kabul river. People in the Frontier are well armed, very mobile and extraordinarily difficult to get at. They have no money, no resources and no stake in British India. However in recent years, frontier raids are gradually diminishing in number on account of the present Indian military policy. The whole of Waziristan is now under the occupation of the British, not in consequence of the murder of two Englishmen, but only for the purpose of protecting Indian subjects. We want to be on the best possible terms with Afghanistan, we want her to be independent and to continue to develop and progress. At the same time we want her to observe the obligations of one civilised state to another. Our policy has been conciliatory. We want her to be reasonably strong. We are glad that the country has made great progress in several directions in recent years.

EXTERNAL INDIA.

In speaking of External India I have to speak first of Russia. The Bolshevik policy is to cool off relations with Angora. It is full of anti-British propaganda. The strength of the Russian Army is very great. Their communications are improving pretty rapidly. Two direct

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lines of railway are running to Afghanistan from Russian Turkestan. Russia pretends friendship to Musslaman countries, Russian Bolshevists and Nationalists are both hostile and are trying to end the British Empire each in their own way. Bolshevik propaganda work is constant on the Frontier and in India. Persia has made itself strong a great deal. Our troops in the Persian Gulf are gradually withdrawn.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA.

The defence of India means the defence of the coast and the defence of the land frontier. The coast is over 5,000 miles with five big ports of Rangoon, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Karachi, with a very big sea-borne trade worth about 600 crores annually. To protect the coast and the trade we should have a large naval force. India has a land frontier of a more than 6,000 miles. India's military expenditure is 50 crores a year. But for the British connections India will have to spend a much larger sum. In the North Western Frontier there are 500,000 tribesmen armed with modern rifles. There is Afghanistan which declared war against us five years ago for no particular reason, although Afghan Government have shown their desire to preserve friendly relations with us now. Aggression from our side is absolutely ~~ unthinkable. We have always got to be prepared for war. Beyond Afghanistan we have got that uncertain and disturbing element in Russia. Russia has a larger army than any other country in the world and has two railway lines right down to Afghanistan. The total Indian Army is 200,000. However

there is no cause for alarm; for it has the whole might of the British Empire hehind it. In case of necessity it could be re-inforced by troops from Great Britain and the Dominions. The Indian Army is already extremely low and cannot be reduced further. We must not be blind to real danger. Indians were good fighters, but they were not united and hence those invasions through Kyber Pass and Bolone Pass before the British rule in India. They were not united even in those days when they were wholly Hindus. Now the Hindus and Mohamoedans live in India and dissensions are great. India is inhabited by people of different races, creeds and languages. It is extremely difficult for them to unite against outside invasion. In all other countries the proportion of the army to the whole population is 1:8, but in India alone it is 1:1,600

COST OF THE ARMY.

Last year the Budget for our Army expenditure was Rs.62 crores. In Japan with a smaller population the defence expenditure is 115 to 118 crores per annum. It is an island power, thousands of miles away from any possible enemy. Yet Japan keeps up a large army and navy. The United States spends 380 crores, although she has got no possible enemy. Mexico does not count at all. The military expenditure of Great Britain is 210 crores per annum. The greater proportion of that expenditure is difectly beneficial to India and is to protect India. The military expenditure in Japan is Rs.20 per head, in Great Britain Rs.50 per head, in the United States nearly Rs.40 per head and in India it is less than Rs.2 per head.

INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY

Now, I shall deal purely with the military aspect of the question of the Indianisation of the Indian Armyi.e. the replacement of the British army by the Indian Army. Our Indian army is small and we have to keep it at a very high rate of efficiency. The efficiency of the present British Officers is extremely high and these officers cannot be replaced by Indian Officers until we can find exactly the right type of Indian Officers. The efforts made by the Indian Government to get Indian Officers are constant and continuous. Very few people who are sons of rich men join the military college and fewer still are likely to continue in service. The Sons of poor Indian Officers are the right class of people. They are mangificent men but they have not got the necessary education It is hoped that this class will produce many suitable officers. We have got to educate them first, as they cannot pay for their own education. We should not adopt too hasty methods. There is no opposition to Indianisation at all. We are ready to receive Indians of the right type on exactly the same footing as the British officers We do not care the least whether the officers are Europeans or Indians. The same standard of efficiency must be obtained and it is not easy to obtain it. It is not anybody that can be good officers.

BRITISH OFFICERS.

Many people believe that India can get on well without British Military assistance. This is absurd. India is a vast country of many different peoples of different

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BRITISH OFFICERS.

A British officer is extraordinarily fond of his men and is anxious for the welfare of India and the Indians. He is very social with his men and has real military efficiency. The same standard cannot be reached by the Indians in a few days. A British Officer spends 40 to 50 thousand rupees for his education. An Indian officer cannot be got without incurring a high expenditure. Further, there is no officer as good as the British officer. A german Officer has probably more technial knowledge, a French office is perhaps more quick witted. But the Great War has shown that as regards character and determination the British officer is easily the first. That is all the result of their education and of tradition handed down by their fighting ancestors.

BRITISH CONNECTION

Many people believe that India can get on well without British Military assistance. This is absurd. India is a vast country of many different peoples of different religious and languages. They cannot possibly pull together without a central power to keep them in cohes on. In China we find Civil War, anarchy and chaos although the people are of one type, one race and more or less of one religion; it is on account of rapid education and rapid creation of democratic institutions where autocracy hitherto prevailed. Austria which contains 8 or 9 different nations broke up in the war, because there was no central power to bind those

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~~NATIONS TOGETHER~~
nations together. How do you think it possible for India to keep gether 320 millions of people? India is far more different from China and Austria. The greater proportion of the expenditure on the British Army in Great Britain is to gurantee Indian's safety; and the small Army in India will be supplemented in times of danger by armies from Great Britain and the Dominions The numbers of the Indian Army is kept low and the cost is small, It cannot be reduced further, for the security of India depends on the strength of this Army. If the British people leave India, I do not think Indians will hold together. We must for some considerable time to come stand between 320 millions of Indians and external invasion, internal chaos and anarchy.

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EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED TELUGU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

"MAHATMA GANDHI BHAJANA GITAMULU"
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Summary from a copy of the Telugu book entitled "Mahatma Gandhi Bhajana Gitamulu" or Songs of Mahatma Gandhi's worship.

G.O. No. 283, dated 16-4-1924, Public Department:

Songs in worship of Mahatma Gandhi.

1. In the first verse the author pays his homage to Mohan Das Gandhi by supposing him to be one of the many incarnations (the fish, the tortoise etc.,) of Kesava.

2. In the second also, the author pays his homage to Mahatma Gandhi in the supposition that he is of divine origin.

3. The third describes the lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi. They are the Ali Brothers, Aribinda Yogi, Chittaranjam, and Lalalajpati. They are respectively compared to the puranic personages of Jaya and Vijaya, Sankara, Kubera (the lord of riches), and Indra. The author interrogates Mahatma, why, with such eminent men at his beck and call, he has not yet started at rooting out injustice in the country and establishing justice.

4. In the fourth, the poet goes on to tell that Vishnu is born as Mahatma Gandhi to establish righteousness and to relieve Bharata-Mata from her servitude just as he took up Avatars of Narasimha, the Swarf, Rama and Sri Krishna respectively to save his devotees who were very much troubled.

5. The fifth is written to illustrate the fact that even great men are not free from troubles, though, in their cases they are but momentary. He gives four illustrations. God hid himself for some time im the pillar in the shape of semi-man and semi-lion; he as a dwarf Brahmin begged Bali; Sita an incarnation of Lakshmi was imprisoned by Dasamukha (Ravana); Sri Kristna was born in prison. Therefore we need not fear that Gandhi is now in prison; becuase he is only a

a man in shape but an angel in reality.

Songs.

In the first song, the author appeals to Bharatamata against the injustice of the British. He says "The English who first came here as traders and took the kingdom by illegal means and also by our own help are now ungratefully imposing upon us new taxes and cruel bills though Mahatma Gandhi is with us.

2. Then the poet narrates the Panjab atrocities "The white men who rule us brought the Rowlett Bill into force. The leaders protested against its passing; but there was no use. So Gandhi made us resort to Satyagraha. Then while on the 6th April 23 observed fast, convened mass meetings in every large village, made festivities to God and were peacefully preaching the greatness of Gandhi, the Government swered from the path of rithteousness and Dyer mercilessly had all the meeting in Amristar dissolved by throwing bombs. Like a demon

their difficulty. When once the people of the Kaira district were suffering from famine he had their taxes cancelled by making them observe "Satwic Nirotham" (peaceful obstruction.) He had also invented the non-cooperation movement which gives us happiness in this world as well as in the other. It also gets us Swaraj.

4. The fourth song simply describes the t en incarnations of God, the eleventh of which is that of Gandhi.

5. The fifth song is an appeal to the people that they should hear the preachings of Mahatma which in the author's opinion bring us Swaraj and elevate us in the estimation of others.

6. The sixth song is simply an appeal asking the people to use charka, boycott foreign cloth and English courts where there is no justice and establish village panchayats. The rest of the song is simply a reiteration of what is told in the previous ones.

7. The seventh also is also another similar appeal.

8. The eight is an appeal to Gandhi himself to enjoy along with Muhammad Ali, Showkat Ali, Malavya Venatappayya, Nehru, Rajipatrao, Dass etc., the feat given by the poet.

9. The last song is the denoument.

TRUE COPY

Selections from G.O.s relating to non-cooperation movement S.6
Proscribed literature :: English books (124)

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XVI EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED ENGLISH BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

1. The Jaito Affair in English. 2. A poster in Urdu. Public, G.O.No.239, dt. 2nd April, 1924, Ordinary.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE NOTE ON THE PUNJAB PRESS?, No.12, dt. the 26th MARCH 1924.

THE following is a translation of the poster, published as Supplement to the AKALI (Amritsar), dt. the 10th March 1924, which has been proscribed by Government under Section 99-A, Criminal Procedure Code (paragraph 35 of Press Note, No.11):-

"God is one (can be known through) the kindness of Satguru:

"Oppression has reached its extreme limit:

"British civilisation run bankrupt:

"Sensational events of the general massacre at Jaito: Boxes filled with the dead and wounded despatched to unknown places: Appeal to the whole civilised world.

"COMMUNIQUE NO.482.

"The bloody incident at Jaito has caused a commotion in the country and stories of this extreme tyranny are current everywhere. When people hear accounts of the firing of rifles and machine-guns by the butcherous authorities of Nabha on the Akalis pledged to non-violence they press their fingers in their mouths and exclaim involuntarily that such oppression had been never before seen or heard of.

"But, O God's creation, you have not yet heard of the doings of these savage beasts. When these devils in human form made arrangements for drinking the blood of the Akalis it was also simultaneously arranged that whatever might happen no trace of this barbarous and inhuman act of theirs should get out. Accordingly, in order to hush up (lit. digest) this bloodshed, Johnston and Ogilvie shut up in the fort Dr. Kitchlew, Professor Gidvani and all their companions, who had gone only to see the happenings. They did not rest satisfied with this, but many persons who had gone to witnes occurrences were also killed with bullets. But there is a saying that tyranny does not remain hidden and the blood of the innocent

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cannot be concealed (lit. digested).

"Listen, O human being with a feeling heart, and listen with a heavy heart. Hear of the doings of the beasts of this civilised Government, which always harps on civilisation. Let alone the facts wherefrom the Lewis gun was fired and wherefrom the breasts of Akalis were rent with bullets from the machine-gun. This was a general massacre perpetrated in broad daylight and indiscriminately. When the stomachs of these beasts had been filled to the brim by drinking blood the later occurrences which are irrefutable and (see (accounts of which) have reached (our) office from several sources (sic!)--One account among them is from the lips of an officer who witnessed this general massacre from the beginning with his own eyes. We reproduce his statement in his own words without withholding or adding anything.

"'You must have heard in the garden hundreds of laments of nightingales,

'Listen with patience, those with burning hearts are now going to wail.'

"The original words of the statement:-'(When) now I again go to the Tibbi Sahib what do I find (there)? That no one is there except the blood of the martyrs. In the field where the heroes had fought the battle of nonviolence (only) low voices, some of which were full of pain, were to be heard. Who are the people that are carrying them away? They are the sweepers of Jaito, Karwali, Chamba, etc., who have since three o'clock been bringing dead bodies and the wounded and collecting them at the THANA and outside it in the military camp situated close to the Purani Kothi. Meanwhile, the Nabha officers have taken possession of the wounded and the dead bodies of the martyrs collected by the Akalis in the Tibbi Sahib. It is almost 10 P.M. now. I made up my mind that it was not proper to stay here any more, because (my) eyes were tired of such spectacles On arriving at the station all gentlemen were found to be sad at heart. On being greatly pressed a pious man said that I would know all on seeing the maidan situated close to the goods godown. May my tongue which cannot stop become petrified. When I went there I

found that groans of most of the wounded, who included women and children also, were being heard. Afterwards boxes were filled with the dead and wounded, whose number it is difficult to tell, and despatched by every train that halted there.' He writes further on:- 'When the Bombay mail halted there at 2 A.M. on the night of the 21st February and when the sweepers who had all night been engaged in the work of collecting the killed and wounded got tired and refused to continue the work gangmen were requisitioned from Kot Kapura, Ganyana etc, and put on this work." The same gentleman writes further on as follows:- 'If any disinterested person or committee may wish to enquire about this I shall prove each and every word of my statement to be true.'

"O (thou) Lord Reading, who didst come out to India raising shouts of justice and civilisation, see how civiliasation is being dragged through the mire in thy regime. Thou art seeing this with thy own eyes. Thy tyranny and oppression have eclipsed even the bloody event wrought under O'Dwyer and Dyer. Well, is it an act of civilisation to fire bullets on women and innocent children? Can it be called human to burn the wounded alive instead of dressing their wounds? The truth is that the machinery of the Government of India has long been devoid of humanity and all the qualities akin thereto. It is now the fountain-head of satanism. It was rightly said by some one that when the star of Britain set craftiness would disappear from the world. How literally true is this saying proving to-day! After having burnt the groaning and gasping persons wounded in the Jaito shambles the Government of India announces that the dressing of the wounded was promptly attended to. These words are replete with falsehood. As a matter of fact, the medical corps with the jatha was arrested along with all other SEVADARS, who included women also, and all the medicines were looted, the sole object in view being that the wounded might not be promptly treated, that they might die and the dressers might not be able to estimate the exact number of the dead and wounded.

"O people of India! You should see how non-violent Akalis were

subjected to tyranny in broad daylight in the British State of Nabha. Hundreds of innocent sons of mothers were killed, but the tyrants have not up till now been called to account. And why should they have been when the Government of India itself was the author of this bloody event?

"O Indian! Wilt thou let the blood of these hundreds of innocent and worthy sons of the motherland run to waste and will these tyrants digest it quietly? Will Dr. Kitchlew and Gidvani remain in the Nabha Jail for life? Will the non-violent Akalis going to Gangsar on pilgrimage and to commence the AKHAND PATH be fired upon in the same way? Will the drama of the Jallianwala Bagh be enacted daily and will not these beasts desist from doing whatever they like? O celebrated son of the motherland! Why art thou looking On? Rise, gird up thy loins and, while acting on the principle of non-violence, jump into the field of action, so that thou too mayst take some part in upholding the dignity of the nation and country.

"O darling of the Guru! See how the five hundred heroic brethren, in spite of their knowing (lit. seeing in front) that the Khalsaji were welcomed with bullets at Jaito, are still gladly going there. Why? For the sole reason that national honour may be preserved, a religious right may not be lost, the AKHAND-PATH may be started and pilgrimage to the GURDWARA opened.

"O heroic brother! Thou also art called a Sikh. Realise thy duty. Make over to the Panth this head of thine which is a trust with thee from the Guru and then see how success kisses thy feet.

"SERVANT OF THE PANTH,

"Genral Secretary, Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar"

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation and Khilafat Movement
Proscribed literature :: Urdu Books (1924) (1920-1925)

EXTRACT FROM PROSCRIBED URDU BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

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15. G.O.No.339, dated 10-5-1924, Public.

"Akali"

Translation of a poster, being a reproduction of supplement of the "Akali" of 10th March, 1924, issued in the name of "Servant of the Panth, General Secretary of Shiromani Akali Dal, Amristar," and printed at the Onkar Press, Amristar.

TYRANNY has reached its climax. English civilisation has become bankrupt. Sensational incidents of the Jaito General massacre. Boxes full of dead bodies and wounded persons were despatched to unknown destinations. An appeal to the whole civilised world. Announcement no-482.

The blood-dripping incident of Jaito has caused an agitation in the country and tales are current in all places about this extreme tyranny. When people hear of the incident of firing with guns and machine-guns by the cruel(lit.executioner) officers of Nabha on the Akalis, pledged to non-violence they put their fingers between their teeth and spontaneously remark that such oppression and tyranny had never been heard and seen before.

But O creatures of God, you have not as yet heard of the deeds of these brutal beasts of prey. While these Satans in Human form had arranged to drink the blood of the Akalis they had simultaneously arranged this also that whatever may happen information about this barbaro

and inhuman deed of theirs may not leak out. So in order to conceal this bloodshed Johnstone and Ogilvie impriosned in the fort Dr.Kichlu, Professor Gidwano and all their other fellow-travellers who had gone there only to observe the incident. They did not rest content with this alone but also killed with bullets many gentlemen who had gone to study the situation. But there is a maxim that tyranny never remains concealed and murder of the innocent will out.

O men with feeling hearts listen, with stones on your hearts, and hear the deeds of the beasts of prey of this civilised Government which flaunts its civilisation so often. Let the question go by as to wherefrom the Lewis guns were fired and wherefrom the bullets of the machine-guns pierced the breasts of the Akalis. This was a general massacre perpetrated in broad daylight and without any regard or distinction. The bellies of these beasts of prey were filled to the brim with the drinking of blood. The later incidents which are irrefutable have reached this office through various sources. Out of these there is a report by an officer who witnessed this massacre from the very beginning. We reproduce his statement without any alternation in his own words:--

You must have heard hundreds of wailings of the nightingale in the garden.

Hold your hearts fast, people with grieved hearts are now going to complain.

The exact words of the statement are:-- I now turn again towards Bitty Sahib and I find nobody there except the blood of the martyrs. Faint voices, often charged with pain, come from the field where erstwhile the heroes had arranged a peaceful battle. Who are those people who are lifting them and takking them away? They are the Chohras of Jaito, Karvali and Chamba who have been conveying the dead and wounded to the thana and to the military camp outside it near the purani kothi and collecting them there even from three o'clock. In this interval officers of Nabha took possession of the wounded and of the corpses which the Akalis had collected at Bitty Sahib. It is now about ten in the night. I thought that it was improper to stay................as the shameless eyes had got tired of viewing the sight. On arriving at the station I found all men dejected. On persistent enquiry one gentleman told me that I would learn all after seeing the maidan near the goods-shed. May my tongue be pettified that it does not stop. On going there I found some of the wounded groaning. There were women and children also in them. The wounded and dead were packed in boxes and sent away by every train which halted there. It is difficult to state their number". Further on he says:-- "On the 21st February, when the Bombay mail halted there at 2 a.m. the Chohras who had been collecting the dead and wounded the whole night got tired and refused work and gangmen from Kot Kapoora, Ganiana and other places were put to this work."

The same gentleman writes further on:--"If any impartial person or committee chooses to hold an enquiry I will prove every world of my statement to be true."

O! Lord Reading who hast come into India with the cry of justice and civilisation on thy lips, see how civilisation is being dragged into the mire under thy government. Thou art seeing with thine own eyes that thy oppression and tyranny have surpassed the bloody incidents of Dyer and O' Dwyer. Does civilisation admit of shooting women and innocent children. Is it humanity to burn wounded persons alive instead of attending to their wounds? The truth is that humanity and all allied qualities have been stamped out of the machinery of the Government of India long ago and it has now become the fountain-head of sataniety. Some one has truly said that the day the star of Britain sets cunning will disappear from the world. This maxim has been well proved today. While burning the groaning and sobbing wounded on the slaughter ground of Jaito, the Government of India has announced that prompt attention was paid to the dressing of the wounds of the injured. These words are full of falsehood. The fact is that the medical corps accompanying the jatha and all the other sewadars who numbered women also among them were arrested and all the medical accessories were looted, so that there may not be prompt treatment of the wounded and the dressers may not be able to estimate the correct ~~order~~ number of the dead and the wounded.

O inhabitants of India, see how oppression was practised on the Akalis in broad daylight in the English State of Nabha. The innocent sons of hundreds of mothers were killed, but no explanation was demanded from these tyrants. Why should an explanation be demanded when the Government of India is itself responsible for this bloody incident.

O Indians, will you allow the blood of these hundreds of innocent and true sons of the mother country to go in vain and will these tyrants quietly digest all this? Will Dr.Kichlu and Gidwani pass their lives in Nabha jail? Will those peaceful Akalis who had gone to commence the Akhand Path and to perform the piglrimage to Gangsar be fired at in this fashion? Will the drama of the Jallianwala Bagh be re-enacted every day and will these beasts of prey be not restrained from their highhandedness? O famous and true sons of the mother country, what are you tarrying for? Arise, gird the loins of courage, and while acting on the principle of non-violence, jump into the arena of action, so that you may have some hand in upholding the honour and dignity of the nation and the country.

Beloved sons of the Guru, behold, how five hundred brave brothers of yours with the precedent of the feast of bullets for the Khalsha Ji at Jaito are advancing forward gladly. Why? Simply because the national honour may be upheld and the religious rights may be upheld, the

Akhand Path may be continued and the pilgrimage to the Gurudwara may be opendd.

Brave heroes, you also are called Sokhs. ~~xxxxx~~ Realise your duty and give this head which you hold in trust for the Guru to the Panth. Then you will see how success kisses your feet.

Extracts from GOs relating to NCO and Khilafat movement in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed Literature) (1924) (1920-1921)

G.O.No. 586, Public, Ordinary dated 15-8-1924.

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The following is the translation of certain passages in Pandit Ram Das Gour's Hindu Readers likely to be construed as objectionable from a political point of view or likely to create racial prejudice:-

When will the troubles and miseries of this pverty striken India Lessen? O God! When shall we be independent (self-dependent) in every way? When will you remove all of our insults? When shall you satisfy all of our aims and proud ambitions?

The impotency of political and kingly power over a satyagrahi (one who is zealous in the pursuit of a lighteous cause).

The people performed satyagraha. Were persistent in truth to such an extent that it shook the foundation of the Muslim rule. The folly of the Muhammadan rulers prevented the two great nations from uniting. How much injury has been done to the cause of India by this bad policy is testified by history.

To those who carry on a noble propaganda with the intention of delibering India (from misery) my request is that they should first ferry the agriculturist who are already in midstream.

The message of nationalism.

The Hindu who has got no love or devotion for Hindi has, let it be known for certain, his fate overturned. The man who has got no love for his country and language wanders forth as a hog in the garb of a man. The national message is that everything which is one's own, one's country one's language is the best. The Hindu who, giving up Hindu, speaks English, has, as it were his brain and intellect covered with stone, rendering them opaque.

Of all the countries India is the best:

Of all the languages Hindi is the best:

Of all the nations Hindus are the best, and everything else isbad.

(P.T.O.)

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Can slavery exist in that hallowed land where lives a venerable observer of the vow of non-violence and possessor alike of purity of character and sincerity like Gandhi whose one exhortation will cause people to sacrifice their lives and wealth with all their heart? No, it is impossible. It was only an ugly dream which has dissipated, since the night of ignorance is past.

The night of distress is gone, the cruel (ill-fated) darkness is dissipated. The pure morning has come and Bharat has awakened refreshed; the ugly dream is gone, the sun of awakening has arisen and has spread freedom by destroying the thraldom of idleness. So long as there was enthralment, sleep had (you) in her grips; now, following the paths of truth, do the work of your country.

In Sambat 1962 came the Partition of Bengal. On this occasion Lokamanya set in motion an active agitation for the boycott of foreign goods. In the Congress of that year which met in Benares the utility of boycott was accepted. The next year the Congress met at Calcutta and the resolutions of Swadeshi and boycott were accepted, the whole credit for which is Lokamanya's.

Lokamanya was arrested on the charge of publishing an article in Kesari. The jury consisted of men quite ignorant of Marathi. Lokamanya pleaded his case himself. Very lucidly he answered to the charges brought against him, but did not apologize, because he considered himself innocent. He was fined a thousand rupees and got

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transportation for six years. On hearing this judgment the words which Lokamanya uttered show his fearlessness and strength of character. His speech was reproduced by the Hindu Kesari in verse in the following words:--

"Although the jury has declared me guilty today, my conscience says I am innocent. Before which the power of man is nothing, such High Power is turning the wheel of the world. I find in my mind an indication from Heaven saying that the agitation will gain strength by my bearing the sufferings".

In the same year he established the "Swaraj-Samgh' and lectured on it in various places. The Magistrate of Poona considered some of his speeches as seditious and demanded that security should be furnished; but on appeal to the High Court the charge was set aside. This opened the gate of the agitation for swarjya and the cry of swarajya resounded here, there and everywhere.

The spike or thorn.

A dreadful spike in the pleasant path--it has pierced the tendermost part. The big breast is rent, the whole body is covered with sweat.

Oh! the outrage upon women.
O civilization! may thou prosper!
Is this the pride of the chivalrous!
They take the lives of the suckling babes.
By the massacre of the innocent,
Can bullets save dignity (prestige)!

Let the sign of the terror-stricken rise to the skies, let the land be covered with blood. Faintness (dejection) has spread--Faintness and speechlessness-- courage or enthusiasm is dead for a moment. But who is it that whispers in the ears? The whole is electrified. Setting the net of thorns in the paths, the fowler was lost in self-complacence.

But, O the Protector of the fallen!

The hope of the mean was destroyed.

Awakening, yes, the hurt brought about awakening. I rose up to offer myself a sacrifice. Yes, I shall bear all lashing, bullets and caning, but will save the honour of the motherland.

The brute, unrestrained and tyrannical as it is, cowers before stremgth and retaliation. Exactly the same brutal propensities have come into the character of man. Western civilization presents many illustrations of this nature.

For admission to European sporting places in India is barred to natives by the white lords who consider that the enjoymentof natural scenery is reserv d for them alone.

And this was quite natural; for we, like the Europeans, are Aryans, and are in no way inferior, if not superior, to them in learning, education, intelligence, and civilization. In spite of this some English administrators treat us badly. How do these Philippinoes fare? How do the Americans treat these natives? I was very eager to know all this.

In our country, almost in every place where the English play stands a guard to keep away the black natives, so that there may be no disturbance in the amusements of the Englishman. No such thing was to be seen here (in Manilla). The American, the Philippino, and the Chinaman were seen seated on the same bench. There was no distinction. American ladies talked smilingly with the Phillippinoes. On all sides of the band-stand stood people of every race-the Phillippino, the Negro, the Japanese, the Sikh, to hear the band play. "Salaam me, call me 'Sir'" were heard from none. All were lords in their own estimation and sat and went wherever it pleased them; none interfered with the freedom of the other.

So long as you are not prepared to bear sufferings, so long you can attain nothing.

We cannot have the same influence over the people of our community by means of English as we can by means of our own language.

The country which has not the reins of education in its own hands cannot soon (easily) attain its social, political and moral advancement.

At any rate, Akbar was convinced that an empire in India could not rest on mere physical force and that he could not remain confident of his power so long as the foundation of the empire was not laid on the good-will and love of the people, so long as Hindu-Muslim unity was not promoted, mutual distrust was not removed and the distinction between the rulers and the ruled was not lessened.

A man should be free so far as social rules of individual welfare are concerned.

Although this college is at present affiliated to the Government University, it was orginally intended to promote national education.

When the Congress met in Benares in Sambat 1962, the Lalaji delivered there an impressive speech on Bengal Partition, which instilled new life into the people in general. This was also the beginning of many misfortunes that henceforth fell upon him, and in a way his sufferings actually commenced from this time. For all of a sudden, by an order of the Punjab Government, he was deported, which news fell as a thunderbolt from the sky upon the Indians, none of whom could find out the reason for the deportation. A movement was started in England against this deportation, but to no avail.

Even the Government were moved by the powerful public opinion and they had to set the Lalaji free after six months.

He had gone to attend the Congress, prepared to support the resolution, on swadeshi and boycott, but the split that occurred at the Surat Congress changed the whole situation. Lala Lajpat Rai does not aspire to fame like ordinary people. He is a man of action which is the motto of his life. He enters with his heart and soul into any movement that tends to lead to the real

into account. There are people who go so far as to treat their daughters as chattel with they sell like sheep or goats at any marriage market. In this way the lives of helpless girls are made miserable. The same father treats his son also in a similarly high-handed way. Similar disregard is shown towards the rights of the son. Thus thousands of boys and girls of India suffer from the autocratic rule of their fathers.

In the capacity of a husband, the housefather beats his wife and oppresses her, never dreaming of her as his better half. He may himself be given to drinking, gambling, stealing and other kindred vices, but his authority in the family remains indisputable. Millions of Indian homes are at present labouring under irresponsible autocratic rule and the cry for justice, to say the least of it, issuing forth from helpless women, if not from any other quarter.

In a magnified form this example presents a much more horrible spectacle. Think of native States as so many different communities and their rajas, maharajas and nawabs as the rulers of those communities. These rulers wield despotic authority over their subjects. Although these States are themselves under the yoke of a foreign nation, they are, with a few exceptions, models of that injustice and oppression which are natural fruits of unlimited autocracy. There may be in these States men better fitted to carry on the affairs of State than the present rulers, but they have no chance of ever becoming the leaders of the societies there. [illegible] flatterers who flourish there. Bribery

is rife and no one cares for honest people there. The saying "Thieves and knaves are the leaders" comes out to be true in their case.

The sole remedy for almost all the evils obtaining at present in India is a good system of government. The study of no other subject is so important for Indians today as a study of this subject. Give up for a time long discourses on grammer, subtle dilemmas of logic, and spend less time and energy in the contemplation of philosophical subjects. Open your eyes and look around! There is no need at present to waste our time in philosophising.

This strange man has shown by an example of his life, that the sharpest sword is powerless against a keen-edged soul, that the fire of the formidable and fearful science of modern times cools down before austerity, that worldly enjoyments and luxuries lose their flavour and temptation before self-sacrifice, and that the veils of deception and unreality and rent asunder before truth. He has tested these beliefs of our ancient sages on the touch-stone of his own life.

The British Government made Mahatmajee a sergeant-major and awarded him a medal. But this was not done in grateful recognition of his services, it was rather a kind of bribery.

When in Sambat 1963 the Zulus waged a war against the English, the Mahatma and the Indians, relying upon the British sense of justice, helped them and saved the

lives of their wounded at the cost of their own. The reward, which the Indians received in return for this service of theirs, was in the form of an insulating piece of legislation which made a coolie of every Indian and required all Indians to register their names. To add insult to injury, they were, like prisoners, asked to give their thumb impressions.

In the meantime the Government enacted a devilish law which declared our marriages to be illegal. This put us to great disgrace.

Who can save in a foreign country the honour of a nation which is not honoured in its own home? Had we in India been a self-governing nation, we could at least non-co-operate with a country which dared to maltreat our brethren abroad. But even in our present state of dependence, a pleader going to a foreign land, saved the honour of his mother-country by the force of his character, instilled life into the hearts of lifeless coolies and inspired them with the conviction that it was better to die for one's honour than to accept slavery.

With the close of the war changed also the colour of the Government, who drew up the Rowlatt Act, in spite of the unanimous opposition, to suppress, once for all, all political agitation in the country. It contemplated to treat whole India to be in a state of rebellion and was intended to fully equip the police with power to ~~ara~~ harass all good citizens.

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When both the Indian and the British Government failed to do justice to India in so vital a matter as the horrible Punjab slaughter and the atrocities connected with it; when, instead, the English raised a subscription to reward General Dyer for his acts of murder, and when Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister violated his promises with regard to the Turkish problem, Mahatma Gandhi was compelled to lay before the country his programme of non-co-operation. The Mahatma appealed to all the patriots, whose hearts had been wounded by the Punjab slaughter and the solution of the Turkish problem, to non-co-operate with the Government. This resolution was passed by a majority of votes in a special session of the Indian National Congress in September, 1920. It is a test to distinguish true from false leaders and calls upon those who pose to be great lovers of their country, to make the greatest sacrifice. The country prepared itself for sacrifice; title-holders relinquished their titles; vakils gave up their practice; doctors ceased to work in their trade; government servants resigned their posts; litigation in government courts was reduced; panchayats were established; national schools were started; there was a great stir among students, who left schools and colleges in large numbers; and many schools, colleges and universities on national lines were opened and have continued to be opened till now.

The Government have in their turn started repression, and have been sending to jail large numbers of people who persist in their cause and go to prison with smiling

faces, their places being instantly filled by new volunteers. The whole of India, in the Nagpur session of the Congress, accepted the principle of non-co-operation, with one united voice, there being not a single individual voting against it. Several municipalities which refused to give welcome to the Viceroy accorded to the Mahatma the grandest reception and ceased to accept government grants. This state of things is still going on. The chariot of swaraj is steadily moving forward under the guidance of Mahatmajee.

Dyerism was repeated at Calcutta, Rae Bareli and many other places. Obstacles were put in the path of non-co-operation, but they could not put a stop to the speed of the chariot of soul-force.

India is at present undergoing a change that was unexpected. The Mahatmaji's message has reached every village and corner of the country with a lightning speed. Even a child is heard to speak of Jallianwala Bagh and the Mahatma.

Mahatma Gandhi is today the true ruler and the uncrowned king of India. After Ram and Krishna the Mahatmaji has been the only person who has by his political activity won the hearts of all people. The Government may, out of sheer selfishness, curse the non-co-operation movement as much as they please, but in reality even the bitterest enemies of the Mahatma do not find fault with his truthfulness.

When the King-Emperor's uncle, the Duke of Connaught, arrived at Delhi, there was mourning everywhere, the whole city observed a hartal and presented a spectacle of desertedness. On the contrary, when after only two days the Mahatma visited the city, the people decorated the roads with cloths of velvet. The shops were all decorated; millions of people accorded him a welcome; and it looked as if the true king of India had arrived there that day.

Today the name of Gandhi stands for that world-wide ideal which has found a place in the heart of every Indian, which has found a shape in the body of spacious India, whose name acts as a spell to inspire the spirit of freedom and self-control and whose natural effect is the dissemination of unity in the whole of India. A mere thought of this ideal frees us from bondage, and its ultimate goal is full self-government. With Mahatma Mohandas at the head of non-co-operation and with a practical archer like India, it is certain that victory will be ours, that the charoit of righteousness will go on moving forward, and that good fortune will follow us like a house-maid.

The land upon which we live is not the property of any particular individual. God has never bound Himself to any agreement endowing a person with a piece of land of definite magnitude. This land is for the enjoyment of all.

That time has now come. We are beset with troubles; the world is pervaded with irreligiousness, and India

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is sunk in misery. Injustice is the rule of the day and subjects are being trodden down. People have deteriorated, being overcome with desease, fear, incendiarism and divine wrath. O, Shyam! (bluefaced one), O beloved one, when will you manifest yourself for the good of India and when will the demons, namely, injustice and selfishness, be killed? This Motherland of ours is in bondage. When will you set it free? When will you establish righteousness in this favourite land of yours?

Satyagraha is like a double-edged sword; it can be wielded in every way. Without shedding a drop of blood it does good to him who wields it and to him too against whom it is used. Its result is very secret and mysterious. Neither it rusts nor can any one steal it. A satyagrahi is never exhausted in his struggles with his own countrymen. The sword of satyagraha needs no scabbard and none can wrench it by force.

The assistance which Pandit Moti Lal Nehru gave to his distressed countrymen in the Punjab is very praiseworthy. He spared neither his body nor his mind nor his wealth in serving ~~his~~ sorrowful and suffering Punjabi brethren. When many vakils were implicated there, when some people were afraid of the officers of Government, and when barristers and vakils here and there were overpowered with avarice, Panditji saw the distressed and helpless condition of his country, and without thinking of his roaring practice at Allahabad devoted himself to the service of his afflicted brethren in the Punjab.

Dependent India cannot do greater honour to anyone than this.

This event was in connection with the incarceration of Mrs. Besant as a political prisoner. When Panditji heard this sad news, his indignation knew no bounds. On one side there were Mrs. Besant's incessant efforts for the uplifting of India and her devoted service to the country and her extraordinary sacrifice; on the other hand her imprisonment in her old age without any offence and the cruel treatment meted out to her. All this was too much for Panditji; he could have no rest. The fire of patriotism burst into flame in him.

After the session of the National Congress at Amritsar the political agitation of the country drifted to a different path. When Mahatma Gandhi called upon the lovers of the country to join the movement of non-co-operation, Panditji who has brightened the face of the United Provinces was the first to be on his side. He gave up his practice which yielded an income of Rs.25,000 per month, gave away to the helpless poor thousands of pairs of clothes made of foreign cloth and sent them to relieve the distress of the sick people in foreign countries. He and all the members of his family put on khaddar and began to lead the life of penance.

Such a high ideal of patriotism can rarely be met with. He used to be agitated at the wretched condition of the motherland. Excited to frenzy by his love for his country he writes, "Oh slavery! Oh servitude! Oh weakness! the time has now come, pack up your bedding take up your things, leave the country of free people. O! you, who are asleep, the cloud too is weeping for you, drift away in the Ganges, drown yourselves in the sea, melt in the Himalayas. Ram's body will not fall so long

as India is not reinstated. This body may perish, but its bones like those of Dadhich will become Indra's thunderbolt and crush the demon to atoms. This body may cease to have life; still its divine missile cannot fall wide of its target.

O motherland, thou hast given birth to the son of the Sikh Guru Govind, who was steadfast in his religion, and Madan Mohan who was slain at Jallianwala Bagh; these were they children who faithfully observed their vow. We are today delighted to see Balgangadhar Tilak Bipin Chandra Pal, Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Lala Lajpat Rai devoting their strength, heart, and wealth to the service of their own country.

Can you not do without bideshi cloth? It is enough if you get khaddar. The women have discarded the shining glass bangles, thinking them to be foreign manufacture, and they have thus done a great good. Weak women could do this great sacrifice. Now let us see, O men, what you can do.

We were free before; now we are sadly confined in prison. Alas! our days are now passing in sorrow and pain. Today we are in hell; yesterday we were in the flower garden of Iram.

My heart would never have been so grieved. None of us would have been a wild beast or a damned fool. Every work of our country would have been done according to our wish. We should have been something else if there had been Home Rule. The old days come to my mind.

In this way, O good sons of India, nature teaches you to do your work carefully. Darlings, if you wish to revive the declining glory of the land of Bharat, educate your sons and daughters from this moment. This is the true secret taught by the sages.

Art is gone, commerce is gone, good education does not find favour, agriculture too has been ruined, poverty has overtaken us; but nobody has any knowledge of it. Alas! we are being treated with rebuff, scorn, and insult today. How will the would-be learned men of India remove her misery?

O sun be careful; O motherland, have patience. O West, thou too shouldst be careful and adopt a serious attitude by changing they policy. Several millions of the would-be learned men of India afflicted with sorrow are coming into the field of action to deliver their mother.

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Extracts from G.O.s relating to N.C.O. and Khilafat movement in the Madras Presidency (Proscribed Literature) (1924) (192[illegible]

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nations together. How do you think it possible for India to keep gether 320 millions of people? India is far more different from China and Austria. The greater proportion of the expenditure on the British Army in Great Britain is to guarantee Indian's safety; and the small Army in India will be supplemented in times of danger by armies from Great Britain and the Dominions. The numbers of the Indian army is kept low and the cost is small,. It cannot be reduced further, for the security of India depends on the strength of this Army. If the British people leave India, I do not think Indians will hold together. We must for some considerable time to come stand between 320 millions of Indians and external invasion, internal chaos and anarchy..

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18. G.O. No. 627 Public, Ordinary dated 3-9-24.

The following is the text of the leaflet in English entitled "Bande Mataram"--"An apology for our appearance" which was proscribed on the ground that it contains words which bring or attempt to bring into hatred or contempt the Government established by law in British India.

Bande Mataram.
AN APOLOGY FOR OUR APPEARANCE.

We find to our surprise that the decision of the Revolutionary Council and their notification has created a stir all over India and even in our rulers Council Chambers at Home.

Though we care ever so little for the doings of our rulers, we are inclined to think that we owe an explanation to our leaders of present day politics. There are some among them who are going so far as to say that we have cast to the winds all the good that came out of their intensive activities.

To them our reply is that while we have no intention of standing in the way of their activity, we fail to find any sense in their repeating ad nausium, their insane dictum that this universe must stop all motion as otherwise their car of progress cannot move onwards. Who are you, pray, to cry halt to the universe just to allow the country to move on in your track of progress? If your line of activity is really worth anything, it must keep itself alive in spite of all other activities in the contrary direction. If the new circumstances or the altered times do not allow you to live, take it, it is because you have failed in your duty and in courage and other actors must come up...Your age is past and must give place to new. You have succeeded in probably revealing once again that constitution and responsible government, as it goes in this land, is all but a pleasant little tall talk. More you could do or would not do. The Resurrection of your country will not allow any limitation of human potentiality nor will she allow any limitation of human sacrifice. So exist Constitutioners.

If you really mean to go on with your noble work, still the country demands of you more resolute and decisive action. Your rulers have slammed the gates of

Law and Justice on your face, why ponder still at the gate and look up beyond the seas at the home of your rulers. The same Iron Hand is there, it extends its iron claws from there and throttless your united will in your fond Councils. Lo, where are your proud refusal of the Budgets, your repeal of the Repressive Laws.

So, friends, do not deplore our advent in the field and ~~trace~~ truce to your aspersions on our system of activity. There is need of us and our type of activity. The alien tyrant, mad with power and pride, riding roughshed over law and justice, proclaims there is need of us. The Hell hounds of Gharmaniar with their orgies of lust and lawlessness proclaim there is need of us. Your Judiciary, who are hushing up dark crimes like these proclaim from their seat of Justice there is need of us. Your own women have come out before the world and in the story they repeat from the witness box in the story of their shame, they proclaim there is need of us in this land where the Executive ravish the women, Judiciary condones them and the representative of the King, the man at the head of the government, insults them.

What we mean to do ....

Out of the few revolvers and bombs and police murders or a little white man's blood spilt here and there, we do not expect immediate independence. To-day we mean to be no more than a standing menane to irresponsible tyranny, an abiding retaliation of flagrant

misrule and we mean to stay and work till these lawless laws are in fact wiped out till government becomes responsible to the will of the people for all intents and purposes.

If we fail in this, we may have to go on till we wake up the sleeping leviathan of potentiality of India, and our comrades of to-morrow will have to swim across an ocean of blood to get at the altar of Mother Freedom.

If that be thy will, O Mother of Holy Blood, so be it.

OM, KALI, KALI, KALI.

President-in-council, Red Bengal.

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XXVIII ENGLISH
EXTRACTS FROM ~~TAMIL~~ PROSCRIBED BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

G.O.No.627, dt.3-9-1924. Public.

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BANDE MATARAM.

An apology for our appearance.

We find to our surprise that the decision of the Revolutionary Council and their notification has created a stir all over India and even in our rulers Council Chambers at home.

Though we care ever so little for the doings of our rulers, we are inclined to think that we owe an explanation to our leaders of present day politics. There are some among them who are going so far as to say that we have cast to the winds all the good that came out of their intensive activities.

To them our reply is that while we have no intention of standing in the way of their activity, we fail to find any sense in their repeating ad nausium, their insane dictum that this universe must stop all motion as otherwise their car of progress cannot move onwards. Who are you, pray, to cry halt to the universe just to allow the country to move on in your track of progress? If your line of activity is really worth anything, it must keep itself alive in spite of all other activities in the contrary direction. If the new circumstances or the altered times do not allow you to live, take it, it is because you have failed in your duty and in courage and other actors must come up--your age is past and must give place to new. You have succeeded in probably revealing once again that constitution and responsible government, as it goes in this land, is all but a pleasant little tall talk, More you could not do or would not do. The Resurrection of your country will not allow any limitation of human potentiality nor will she allow any limitation of human sacrifice. So exit Constitutioners.

If you really mean to go on with your noble work, still the country demands of you more resolute and decisive action. Your rulers have slammed the gates of Law and Justice on your

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement 1920 to 1925

IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

(Proscribed literature 1924)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("The workers' Monthly" - Proscribed - Government of Madras)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 873(Confidential)dated 15-12-1924, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras proscribed the "November issue of the English journal entitled "The workers' monthly"

Selections from G.O.s relating to non-cooperation movement: Proscribed literature: English Books (1925) 1920-25

XX EXTRACT FROM THE PROSCRIBED ENGLISH BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Newspaper "The Revolutionary", Public, G.O.No.153, dt.13th February, 1925 (confidential).

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Extracts of objectionable passages from the Revolutionary, an organ of the revolutionary party of India, Volume I, No.1 of 1st January, 1925.

(Manifesto of the Revolutionary party of India.)

x x x x

Twenty yeas of ruthless repression has not been able to crush it. Scathing denunciations by the renowned public leaders have not been able to arrest its steady growth. The movement stands mightier to-day than what it was before. The prospects of this revolutionary party were never xx so bright as they are to-day. The future is assured.

Let no Indian deny the existence of this revolutionary party in order to denounce the repressive measures of the foreign rulers. The foreiners have no right to rule over India and therefore they must be denounced and driven out, not that they have committed any particular act of violence or crime. These are the natural consequen of a foreign rule. This foreign rule must be abolished. They have no justification to rule over India except the justification of the sword, and therefore the revolutionary party has taken to the sword. But the sword of the revolutionary party bears ideas at its edge.

The immediate object of the revolutionary party in the domain of politics is to establish a Federal Republic of the United States of India by an organised and armed revolution.

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But this party views all constitutinal agitations in the country with contempt and ridicule. It is a mockery to say that India's salvation can be achieved through constitutional means, where no constitution exists. It is self-deception to say that India's political liberty can be attained through peaceful and legitimate means when the enemy is determined to break the peace at his own

convenience and the fine phrase "legitimate" looses all its charm and significance when one pledges himself to maintain peace at all costs.

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x x x x

The ideal before us is to serve humanity in an organised way. This ideal can never be realised by India so long as she remains in bondage and slavery, so long as India remains British India. In order that India may realise her ideal must have a separate and independent existence. This independence can never be achieved through peaceful and constitutional means. Even a child can understand that the laws that govern British India are not made by the Indians nor can they have any control over them. British India can never be transformed into a Federal Republic of the United States of India through the British laws and constitutions . Young Indians! Shake off your illusions, face realities with a stout heart, and do not avoid struggles, difficulties and sacrifices. The inevitable is to come. Do not be misguided any more. Peace and tranquility you cannot have and India's liberty can never be achieved through peaceful and legal means.

x x x x

Thepresent government exists solely because the foreigners have successfully been able to terrorise the Indian people. The Indian people do not love their English masters, they do not want them to be here; but they do help the Britishers simply because they are terribly afraid of them; and this very fear resists the Indians from extending their helping hands to the revolutionaries, not that they do not love them.

This official terrorism is surely to be met by counter terrorism. A spirit of utter helplessness pervades every strata of our society and terrorism is an effective means of restoring the proper spirits in the society without which progress will be difficult. Moreover the English masters and their hired lackyes can never be allowed do whatever theylike, unhampered, unmolested. Every possible difficulty and resistance must be thrown in their way.

Selections from GOs relating to non-cooperation: Proscribed literature: English books (1927)

XXI EXTRACTS FROM THE PROSCRIBED ENGLISH BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Leaflet "Now only one way remains and your eyes are not open"
Public, G.O.No.128, dt. 12th February, 1927, Ordinary.

TRANSLATION OF A LEAFLET IN HINDI ENTITLED "AB EKHI RASTA RAH GAYA AB BHI ANKH NAHI KHULTI" (NOW ONLY ONE WAY REMAINS AND YOUR EYES ARE NOT OPEN).

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POETRY.

(1) It is strange that those who were measuring their strength with lions their sons are to-day afraid even of jackals.

(2) Brave people arise! Girdle your loins and get readywith power, and turn out the enemies so that the motherland may be thank

Brothers! You who are affected on seeing the crying face of motherland; brothers! you who are feeling agonized seeing millions of your hungry brothers; brothers! you who even look with calm eyes on being sucked of your blood; brothers! you who are shedding your blood for freedom just open your eyes and see what way has now been left open to you. Youought to know fully what best methods you have to adopt to cut down the fetters round your feet. Brothers! just come out of the pit and breathe the air of the world and see by what power or strength the heads of the other nations of the world are erect. This world is for the powerful and not for the beggars. Be careful and strengthen your legs. As soon as you get up, the hearts of enemies will tremble and they will run away with their tail in their hands. No subdued nation of the world ever effected its freedom without revolution. America, Japan and Russia clearly show to you which way is best for you. If you are looking up to Mahatma Gandhi, it is useless. That angel of peace is desiring to take BHARAT in a direction opposite to the universal movement and it is impossible. Mahatma Gandhi has shown you two ways of revolution and one of it has been tried and it has been found to be contrary to your nature. You could not derive any benefit out of it; to speak the truth you could not have derived anything from it. The children of liberty-loving lions do never fall at the feet of their enemies. The purpose could not be achieved by sticking to peaceful means. Non-co-operation has ended. The selfish suckers of blood will not even be afraid of

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EXTRACTS FROM THE G.OS. RELATING TO Non-Co-operation & Khilafat Movement
IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY. 1920 to 1925
(Proscribed literature 1925)

ABSTRACT OF THE G.O.

("The workers' monthly" - Prohibited - Government of Madras)

REFERENCE:-G.O.No. 467(Confidential)dated 14-5-1925, Public Dept.

The Government of Madras prohibited the entry of the english journal entitled "The workers' monthly"

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